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Soviet Expert on CEMA Monetary Policy

LD1609144988 Budapest MTI in English 1414 GMT 12 SEP 88

[Text] Budapest, September 12, 1988 (MTI-Econews)—Soviet monetary experts argue on the ways and timing of the introduction of a convertible ruble, said D. V. Smyslov, senior economist of the Institute of World Economy of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, when addressing a recent financial conference in Hungary.

Some say the ruble should be made convertible at one stroke and towards all the other currencies, others reject the idea as unrealistic and say the conditions of making the ruble convertible can be created only gradually.

Several Soviet economists urge the Soviet Union to join the International Monetary Fund immediately, others argue it is necessary to set up contacts with the fund but before they would actually join it is necessary to create a uniform internal ruble rate, an appropriate banking background and the hard currency market of the Soviet Union and the Comecon.

Financial and monetary relations are being upgraded or at least revalued in the Soviet Union, said Mr Smyslov.

Discussing the monetary system of the Comecon member countries, the Soviet economist said in spite of its well-known weaknesses the transferable ruble mechanism would probably remain in force in its present form for a while. The problems springing from the different systems of pricing, cost assessment, rates, financial regulators and taxes have hatched the idea of limited convertability, the practical introduction of which the Soviet Union has already reached an agreement on with Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

Mr Smyslov said it was considered necessary in respect to Hungary too, as Hungarian firms are involved in six out of eleven joint ventures operating in the Soviet Union. Partial convertability of the national currencies cannot, however, replace a common convertible socialist currency that will fulfill the function of a legal tender and promote the development of market relations within the Comecon, said Smyslov.

He confirmed that the socialists countries were basically interested in reshaping the international monetary system and said the institutional adjustment of rates should be restored in order to prevent extreme fluctuations of exchange rates and interest rates.

Smyslov agreed that a better world currency than the SDR should be created first. He said the development of a regional monetary integration—that is, an advanced financial system of the Comecon besides the European monetary system, and a similar grouping around the Yen, could be a transition in that direction.

The Soviet Government is reassessing its relations with various international economic and financial organizations and is showing increasing willingness for cooperation. The radical reform the country is implementing is enhancing the Soviet Union's activity in international monetary relations and the government is supporting at every forum the modernization efforts of the international monetary system, and the process of international integration, Mr Smyslov stressed.

Atanasov Toast at Official Dinner in Vienna
AU1909135188 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Sep 88 p 5

[Report on dinner speech by Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the official dinner given in his honor on 15 September in Vienna by Franz Vranitzky, federal chancellor of Austria]

[Text] In his speech, Comrade Georgi Atanasov stressed the significance of strengthening and expanding bilateral political, economic, and cultural relations in the interest of the two peoples, something in which personal contacts and meetings at the highest level have had a valuable role. He expressed confidence that his current visit will be a useful continuation of the political dialogue between the two governments, will contribute to further activating and enriching relations between Bulgaria and Austria, and will afford the Bulgarian and Austrian peoples the possibility of again demonstrating their mutual feelings of friendship and respect. This has been confirmed by today's talks, which took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and sincerity, Comrade Georgi Atanasov pointed out.

Later, the leader of the Bulgarian Government spoke about our country's high assessment of Austria's policy of active neutrality, its contribution to protecting peace and developing cooperation in Europe and the world, and its constructive activity in UN and other international forums.

Comrade Georgi Atanasov also spoke about the constructive process of deeply restructuring all areas of life which is taking place in our country. By relying on our achievements and taking into consideration the realities of the modern world, he said, we use new approaches to give an additional impetus to our development, implement a structural and technical renewal of our economy, and develop socialist democracy.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria supports activating economic relations with the Republic of Austria, Comrade Georgi Atanasov said. He pointed out that it is necessary to utilize not only the existing forms of economic cooperation, but also to search for new and more effective means of economic contacts. Untapped possibilities exist for mutually implementing long-range projects, developing broad industrial production sharing, and cooperating with third countries, he said.

Speaking about the contemporary international situation, Comrade Georgi Atanasov stressed that it is developing in a positive direction. He assessed the USSR-U.S. INF Treaty as an historical victory of good sense and the first real step toward creating a world without nuclear weapons and violence. He also stressed the great importance of other aspects of the disarmament process—banning nuclear tests and totally annihilating and eliminating chemical weapons.

The leader of the Bulgarian Government pointed out that the issue of reducing conventional weapons now takes priority. In this context he recalled the specific proposals of the Warsaw Pact members, and stressed that their implementation would lead to significantly reducing military confrontation in Europe.

Speaking about the newly revealed possibilities of solving regional conflicts, Comrade Georgi Atanasov stressed the active role created by history for the UN as a unique forum for guaranteeing world peace.

The leader of the Bulgarian Government pointed out that now the world needs to do some serious thinking and to expand humanitarian contacts.

Led by the principles of the new political thinking in international affairs, Comrade Georgi Atanasov said, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is consistently following a course of good-neighborly relations, security, and cooperation in its relations with all countries. He stressed our country's active contribution toward turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, and to expanding and strengthening cooperation in this part of Europe. We are making efforts to construct the Balkan floor of our common European home, and we do not want to construct this floor on an anti-Soviet or anti-American basis, he pointed out.

In conclusion, Comrade Georgi Atanasov stressed that today, more than ever before, it is necessary to develop active cooperation among all states in preventing a nuclear catastrophe and achieving acceptable balance and harmony in today's mutually dependent world. Expressing his hope that an expanded and balanced document will be quickly adopted at the Vienna meeting, the leader of the Bulgarian Government stressed that the European process is a good foundation for constructing the common European home.

Zhivkov Greets Slavonic Studies Congress
AU1909144288 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Sep 88 p 1

["Greetings Message" from Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, to the participants in the 10th International Congress of Slavonic Studies, read on 15 September at the opening session of the congress by Angel Balevski, honorary chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences]

[Text] Esteemed delegates and guests of the 10th International Congress of Slavonic Studies,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Comrades,

On behalf of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on my personal behalf, please allow me to most cordially greet you on the opening of your congress.

Our capital, Sofia, and our country are honored to host for the second time this great scientific forum. We are confident that it will have a great importance in the study and popularization of Slavonic languages and culture, and the role of Slavonic peoples in human development.

The historical road of the Slavs is the source of your creativity. We are happy that Bulgaria's contribution to and our people's struggles for social progress and intellectual upsurge have always been highly assessed by Slavonic students. We are especially satisfied to note that modern Bulgaria also finds its place in your research. Therefore, I again would like to express our warm gratitude to all generations of Slavonic studies scientists.

Your interest in Slavonic studies has always been connected, first of all, with your interest in the participation of the Slavonic peoples in human destiny. The modern world is a mutually dependent entity in every sense of the word. The Slavonic peoples are a part of this entity and are partial owners of the home of all mankind. For their part, the Bulgarian people are doing and will do everything in their power to protect this home and make it one of peace and understanding.

I am convinced that this is one of the goals of your congress, that Slavonic studies, this ancient and authoritative area of knowledge, will make its contribution to strengthening world peace and confidence among nations.

I wish you all fruitful work, a pleasant stay in Bulgaria, personal happiness, and new scientific successes.

Dyulgerov-Led Delegation Returns From PRC

AU1909141088 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Sep 88 p 6

[Text] The delegation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, led by Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, returned on 16 September from Beijing. It visited the PRC at the invitation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

Husak Talks With Zhao, Li Peng Assessed

AU0909114488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Sep 88 p 1

[Report by RUDE PRAVO correspondents Milan Jelinek and Vladimir Divis and CTK: "A Warm Welcome for Comrade Gustav Husak in Beijing"]

[Excerpts] The first 2 days of the official, friendly visit of Comrade Gustav Husak, CSSR president and member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, to the PRC had a rich agenda. The greatest attention centered on the Czechoslovak guest's talks with Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Gustav Husak met Zhao Ziyang on Sunday [4 September].

This year's visit by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to the PRC completed the full normalization of relations along party lines, and President Gustav Husak's current visit indicates the completion of full normalization along state lines as well. The two sides are determined to continue to pursue the road of friendship, understanding, and further cooperation, whose foundations were laid during the talks between top representatives of the two countries in the past period. This is how one could characterize the key conclusions from their talks.

The highest party representative of the PRC said that he appreciated the cordial atmosphere that surrounded his visit last year to the CSSR and that the results have been transferred into all subsequent talks. He stressed that China wants to build relations with Czechoslovakia based on what the two socialist states have in common. We highly regard our good relations because mutual understanding reinforces trust, which is a prerequisite for cooperation, he said.

Great attention was paid during the talks to the implementation of economic changes in the life of the two countries. As far as the international situation is concerned, the general secretary of the CPC Central Committee stressed that China and Czechoslovakia agree on the fundamental issues, particularly with regard to the cause of peace, detente, and disarmament.

He briefed the Czechoslovak representative in detail on the intensification of economic reforms. He pointed out that the assertion of a planned socialist commodity economy in the PRC today requires an adjustment of price policy, which must be accompanied by a reform of the enterprise sphere. Its objective is to draw prices closer to the workings of the market, including the foreign market, and to make the management of enterprises more efficient by reinforcing their independence. He said that changes must be carried out consistently, yet circumspectly.

Gustav Husak conveyed to the highest CPC representative greetings from Milos Jakes general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. He stressed the great importance of exchanging experiences between socialist countries in the current period. He said, furthermore, that the CSSR is fully determined to implement all ideas that arose from Milos Jakes' talks in China. In addition to economic cooperation, which must be raised to a qualitatively higher level through the wider use of new forms of collaboration, this requirement also concerns mutual information about the life of the people of the two countries and an expansion of cultural exchange and of knowledge of one another. In this connection he also mentioned the possibility of a meeting between experts of the two states on the preparation of economic cooperation for the next 5-year plan.

On Sunday, the Czechoslovak guest also met with Li Peng, chairman of the PRC State Council.

Comrade Husak voiced the conviction that his current stay in the PRC would contribute to further deepening all the positive achievements of recent years in CSSR-PRC relations.

A substantial part of their discussion was devoted to international issues. The two countries hold concurrent or close positions in this sphere.

The Czechoslovak guest further informed the Chinese head of government about the implementation of the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the Seventh and Ninth Sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, and on the key problems of the restructuring of our society.

In this connection he said, among other things, that use must be made of the experiences of every socialist country.

Comrade Li Peng emphasized that, in the opinion of the Chinese side, mutual relations have been developing satisfactorily, especially in the last 2 years, and that mutual understanding has further deepened.

He also positively assessed the ongoing trade exchange between our states, but at the same he said that there still exist great and until now untapped possibilities.

In another part of the talks, Comrade Li Peng provided information on the country's domestic political situation. He said, for example, that despite the generally positive results of agriculture in the last decade, by the end of the century cereal production will have to increase by a further 20 percent to provide for the nutrition of the rapidly growing number of the country's inhabitants. He said that this target can only be achieved with the help of the latest advances in science and technology.

In conclusion, Gustav Husak conveyed to the Chinese head of government the invitation of Lubomir Strougal to visit the CSSR. Li Peng gratefully accepted this invitation. [passage omitted]

Meets With Kim Il-Song

AU1509073188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Sep p 1

[Report by Milan Jelinek and CTK: "Talks Between Comrades Gustav Husak and Kim Il-song"]

[Excerpt] Pyongyang— The official friendly visit paid by Gustav Husak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR president, to the DPRK reached its high point on Sunday [11 September]. Gustav Husak held talks with Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and DPRK president, and the two statesmen signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation between the DPRK and the CSSR for a period of 20 years.

During Gustav Husak's meeting with Kim Il-song, the highest DPRK representative, in the Kumsusan presidential palace, the two sides stressed the significance of the conclusions of the recent visit of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to the DPRK, during which fundamental issues concerning bilateral relations and the international situation were discussed. They also expressed the conviction that the Czechoslovak delegation's visit would contribute to enriching relations between our countries and voiced their pleasure with the fact that our president has come to the DPRK in the year of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of bilateral diplomatic relations. Kim Il-song stressed that "the Korean people will never forget that the Czechoslovak people granted us material and moral assistance during the [Korean] war and in the postwar years." Socialist Korea seeks cooperation with socialist countries, and it also needs it.

Kim Il-song said that he had discussed the DPRK's domestic political situation and the tasks, means, and goals of socialist construction in his speech at the festivities [marking the 40th anniversary of the DPRK's founding, held in Pyongyang on 9 September]. His discourse during his talk with G. Husak centered on the situation on the Korean peninsula and on the question of the country's peaceful reunification, which the Korean comrades regard as their key political task.

The DPRK proposed to South Korea negotiations on reunification and the conclusion of a peace treaty. The reply which came from the South in July consented to talks, but there was no mention of the country's reunification in it. The DPRK now proposes talks at the level of the entire parliamentary bodies. South Korea has turned down this proposal and insists on talks between only some representatives. The talks are to continue in October.

Kim Il-song declared that he approves of the visit of the highest South Korean representative to Pyongyang, provided this person will be willing to sign a peace treaty there.

In this connection, Kim Il-song also voiced his opinion on the question of the Seoul Olympic games. He stressed that the DPRK would not participate in the games but that it had no interest in disrupting them. He also drew attention to the possibility of provocations by the South Korean regime against the DPRK during the summer Olympics.

The Korean comrades' vision of a reunified Korea is that of a united nonaligned state with a common foreign policy and army, but with two social systems.

Gustav Husak congratulated the Korean comrades on their successes in socialist construction achieved in the 15 years that have elapsed since his last visit. The CSSR fully supports the Korean friends' efforts at the peaceful reunification of the country.

The two statesmen noted that questions concerning relations between the CSSR and the DPRK and the foreign political situation had been discussed during the visit of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to Pyongyang. Gustav Husak assured Kim Il-song that the CSSR is taking steps for the agreed intentions to be put into effect. Czechoslovakia is interested in economic cooperation. Along with the Korean friends it believes that there exist necessary resources and untapped possibilities. "We regard our relations as good and we must continue developing them," Gustav Husak said. This was also the subject of the session of a Czechoslovak-Korean intergovernmental commission held in Pyongyang these days. Our side was represented by CSSR Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina.

At the close of their talks CSSR President Gustav Husak invited DPRK President Kim Il-song to visit Czechoslovakia. The invitation was accepted with thanks. [passage omitted]

Daily on Olympics, ROK's 'Absurd' Assertion

AU1609143388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Sep 88 p 8

[Commentary by special correspondents V. Divis and L. Sosenka: "Games in a Fortress"]

[Text] Seoul—Never before has such an enormous amount of barbed wire, wire netting, steel and concrete roadblocks, metal detectors, and many other "antiterror devices" been used in the construction of Olympic facilities. However, those who might think that the external defense line meanders around the city limits of Seoul and comprises the arrival hall of both Kimpo airport and also seaports are deeply mistaken. One of us was subjected to the first very thorough body check at

Tokyo airport, on the way from Beijing to Seoul. Incidentally, Tokyo is the main interchange for the tens of thousands of tourists, athletes, and journalists traveling to Seoul.

The departure of the plane had to be delayed by 90 minutes. Each of the almost 300 passengers on the Japanese Airlines' Boeing 747 first passed through the customary roentgen check. Before boarding the plane, however, modern electronic appliances were replaced by the hands of male and female security officers who thoroughly and literally palpated every camera, lens, shirt collar, and sock. They were not too lazy to even look into some people's shoes.

Never before in the history of the summer Olympics have over 100,000 policemen, paratroops, plainclothes security agents, and last but not least, so-called antiterror commandos for whom no obstacle in "combatting the enemy" is insurmountable, been put into action.

From the very moment he sets foot on South Korean soil, every sportsman, functionary, and foreign journalist receives his personal security guards who do not desert him until he leaves Seoul. Young men in blue suits with the "Personal Protection" badge always sit in the front seats of buses, wherever you go outside the Olympic or journalists' villages.

At any one moment, the organizers of the Olympics know perfectly well who is where and since when. On entering every Olympic facility, a special device linked to a central computer reads the code at the bottom of the personal magnetic card. This makes it possible, for example, to itemize minute by minute the exact movements of any foreign or domestic participant in the Olympics, if necessary.

The common area of the Olympic and journalists' villages reminds one of a very thoroughly fortified military camp. At night, paratroopers dressed in bullet-proof vests patrol, at 50-meter intervals, along the outer limits, with their loaded submachine guns pointing somewhere beyond the fence. However, even if they got into trouble, they would immediately be aided by machine-gunners with night-vision goggles who have "entrenched themselves" on the roofs of prefabricated blockhouses in the corners.

The permanent visitors of both villages, and other Olympic facilities, include 64 stout German shepherds, who can supposedly detect any explosive, even if it is hidden in a plastic bag.

However, even the marathon runners, participants in the road cycling race, and speed walkers have not been forgotten by the security agents. They will reportedly be escorted by sharpshooters in black jeeps.

Apparently, one cannot object to strict security measures within the framework of the Olympics. Experiences from South Korea itself, and also from other countries, confirm this. As a matter of fact, the act of terror during the Munich Olympics serves as a serious reminder. There is no doubt that caution is the mother of wisdom here.

However, what one must object to is whom local authorities consider a potential source of terrorism. The material which every foreign journalist received from the South Korean organizing committee speaks about it quite unambiguously. It states, among other things: "The security coordination and control center has tightened checks on aircraft and ships arriving from the Soviet Union and other East European countries..."

This assertion is absurd, does not correspond to the realities, and, what is more, citizens of socialist countries rightly regard such accusations as provocative slander. It is like the proverbial spoon of tar in the barrel of honey.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on CSCE Meeting

LD1409224888 Prague CTK in English
1247 GMT 13 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Prague Sept 13 (CTK)—At a regular press meeting today, Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman Dusan Rovensky spoke of preparations for the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session, and stressesd that Czechoslovakia regards this session as an important forum of multilateral diplomacy, meeting in a favourable atmosphere.

Referring to the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna, Rovensky said there are realistic prospects for the meeting to finish in October or November in the presence of the foreign ministers. Ninety per cent of the text is ready and progress can be made in questions on which agreement has not been reached, he said, adding that a constructive and businesslike atmosphere has been created though attempts continue on the part of some delegations of NATO countries to assert maximalist demands, in particular in the humanitarian aspects of the all-European process. He further said the positions as regards military-political issues have come closer together. One of the most complicated questions are so-called dual purpose weapons which may use both conventional and nuclear charges. The positions of the sides came very closer together in the formulation of the final document's passages concerning economic, scientific-technological and ecological cooperation. The Czechoslovak delegation does its best for the Vienna meeting to end with the approval of the document opening the way to the further deepening of the Helsinki process.

Speaking of the visit to Czechoslovakia by Democratic Yemen's Foreign Minister 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dali, starting today, Dusan Rovensky said it is expected to boost successfully developing bilateral relations.

He also said that the visit by French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas to Czechoslovakia, due on September 15, is regarded as a very important event in Czechoslovak-French relations. [passage omitted]

Observers To Attend 'Teamwork' Military Exercise

AU1609164288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Sep 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Czechoslovak Observers to Teamwork Exercise"]

[Text] Prague—According to an announcement by Norway, a joint exercise involving U.S. troops and troops from Great Britain, Norway, and The Netherlands will be held on Norwegian territory under the name "Teamwork" on 16-17 September.

In accordance with the document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, Czechoslovak observers will be attending this exercise from 15 to 17 September.

Hungarian Deputy Premier Begins Official Visit

Meets Planning Chairman Potac

LD1509102888 Prague CTK in English 1800 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and State Planning Commission Chairman Svatopluk Potac received here today Hungarian Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy who is here on an official working visit.

The officials discussed some topical problems of bilateral economic cooperation. Also present was Ambassador of Hungary in Czechoslovakia Miklos Barity.

Received by Strougal

LD1509103088 Prague CTK in English 1803 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 14 (CT)—Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal received here tonight Hungarian Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy.

The two representatives exchanged detailed information on the course of political and economic reforms in their countries, stressing the importance of the participation of people in the process.

Lubomir Strougal pointed out the extent of economic cooperation with Hungary and proposed to go beyond the framework of usual cooperation and launch new ventures in a modern way according to the needs of the two neighbouring economies which so far have not sufficiently used resources available to them.

Peter Medgyessy mentioned the latest economic measures of the Hungarian Council of Ministers which will be reflected in the two countries' cooperation.

Discusses Bilateral Trade

LD1509103588 Budapest MTI in English 1945 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Prague, September 15 (MTI)—Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy made an official visit to Czechoslovakia on September 13-14. On Tuesday he participated at the opening of the Brno International Machine Fair and visited the Hungarian stands, and later held negotiations with Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Trade Jan Sterba on bilateral economic issues. On Wednesday he met Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Rudolf Rohlicek. They informed each other on the ongoing reform of the economy control in the two countries and future tasks and expressed opinions on the governmental stances related to the development of the CMEA.

Peter Meddgyessy held a meeting with Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission Svatopluk Potac. The meeting covered the changed tasks of the annual and middle term national economy plans and gave briefs on the present status of accomplishing this years's national economy plans.

The deputy premier met Pavel Hrivnak, chairman of the State Price Office and co-chairman of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Commission. The sides reviewed contemporary issues of economic cooperation.

On Wednesday Peter Medgyessy was seen by Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal. At their discussion the planned and accomplished reforms of the two countries were reviewed.

Responding to the questions of the Prague correspondent of MTI Peter Medgyessy said that at his negotiations the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project was also on the agenda. He informed Lubomir Strougal and his Czechoslovakian partners that this issue was discussed by the Hungarian Government. In his wording, the Hungarian party would act preventively by speeding up investments regarding waste water cleaning and water quality monitoring. Before the power plant is made operational the waste water cleaning issue should be resolved and the monitoring system must be set up emphasized Peter Medgyessy. He pointed out that this could be effective if the Czechoslovakian partners took steps in this issue. He emphasized that environmental protection installations at the water system could form a unified system only in this case and meet the related social requirement, which the deputy premier called justified. In this context Peter Medgyessy said he had received a promise in Prague that the water management authorities and government commissioners will discuss the issue and explore options that

at the same time and along with the Hungarian party, before making the water system operational, the cleaning and monitoring systems will be set up.

Peter Medgyessy also held negotiations on Hungarian-Czechoslovak trade relations.

The negotiating parties established that despite the starting difficulties, this year trade exceeds the planned 1,700 million rubles. At the same time they expressed dissatisfaction regarding the developments in cooperation and production specialization, where, they emphasized there is a great deal of unused opportunities. The most efficient cooperation area is chemical industry and car manufacturing. Among other things, it was concluded that Hungary and Czechoslovakia did their best to supply currency for tourism to each other's country.

Robert Mosoczi, the head of the Hungarian trade office in Prague told the MTI correspondent that at the negotiations the private law contract is soon to be signed between Mogurt [Hungarian state automobile concern] and the Czechoslovak Motokov firm on this year's deliveries of 2000 Skoda 120 cars. This year the delivery of 10,000 Skoda cars was envisaged in Hungary and that of 8,000 cars covered in a further contract.

According to the Hungarian trade councillor in Prague both parties urged improvements in the present car manufacturing cooperation. If progress could be achieved in this field, the car factory at Mlada Boleslav could increase production and Hungary would also be supplied with the new Skoda model, the Favorit.

Catholic Activist Sent to Psychiatric Hospital

AU1909111888 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 17-18 Sep 88 p 2

[Text] CSSR: According to information provided by the International Human Rights Society, Catholic civil rights activist Augustin Navratil has again been sent to a psychiatric hospital.

Federal Assembly Bodies View Market Shortages

AU1409140988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Sep 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Federal Assembly Deputies Discuss Plan Fulfillment; Even Increased Deliveries to Shops During 1st Half-Year Could Not Fully Meet Consumer Demands"]

[Excerpt] Prague—The Industry, Transport, and Trade Committees of the two CSSR Federal Assembly chambers met at a joint session in Prague on Friday [9 September] to discuss the CSSR budget and the fulfillment of the state development plan for the national economy.

Although the results attained during the first half of the year both in the key economic branches and throughout our national economy are more favorable than in the preceding years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, neither the quality nor the technical standards of a number of products cannot be improved. The structure and range of products in demand are also not being provided for. Deliveries of imported and domestically produced commodities to the domestic market have increased more rapidly than planned (by up to 6.7 percent), but even so this was not sufficient to fully meet consumer demand. For example, demand for meat products, poultry, sea fish, mineral water, biscuits, chocolate and candy, underwear, rugs, footwear, fancy leather goods, household equipment, paper and paper products, hygiene products and pharmaceuticals, and medical care products could not be met to nearly the same extent as in the first half of 1987. [passage omitted]

Scientific Congress Ends, Elects Officials

AU1509171288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Sep 88 p 1

[Vladimir Cechlovsky report: "The Seventh Congress of the Czechoslovak Scientific-Technical Association Ends; Creative Deeds Will Be Decisive; Deliberations Attended by Comrade Milos Jakes; Attention Also Focused on Influencing the Children and Young People, and on Environmental Protection; Comrade Bretislav Benda Elected Chairman of the Czechoslovak Scientific-Technical Association"]

[Excerpts] Prague—The Seventh Congress of the Czechoslovak Scientific-Technical Association (CSVTS) continued in the Palace of Culture in Prague on Saturday [10 September]. The 2d day of congress deliberations was also attended by the delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR National Front Central Committee, and the CSSR Government, led by Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The congress delegates elected the CSVTS bodies—i.e. the Central Council and the Central Auditing Commission—by secret ballot. More than 50 percent of the Central Council members were newly elected. At its constituent session, the council re-elected Bretislav Benda as Central Council chairman. Stefan Zlatohlavy became leading secretary. [passage omitted]

Briefs

Trade Agreements Signed

At the International Engineering Trade Fair in Brno, the Czechoslovak foreign trade enterprise Pragoinvest has signed an important contract to deliver diesel-electric locomotives to the USSR. Agreements have also been

signed between Badische Kommunale Landesbank of Stuttgart and the Czechoslovak Commercial Bank to promote trade with Czechoslovakia. To finance exports to Czechoslovakia, DM150 million has been set aside to be used by medium-size companies in Baden-Wuerttemberg. The initial results of Czechoslovak-French cooperation in manufacturing pumps are being displayed at the trade fair this year. They are the joint work of the Czechoslovak company Sigma, in Lutin, and the French company Alsthom. Both have now begun joint production of pumps for irrigation purposes as well as for hydroelectric, power, and chemical plants. [Summary] [*LD2009021288 Prague in Czech to Europe 2230 GMT 18 Sep LD*]

CTK-TASS Cooperation

(CTK)—CTK Central Director Otakar Svercina and TASS General Director Sergey Losev signed a new and more extensive agreement on cooperation between the two agencies in Warsaw on 14 September. [Summary] [*AU1609160488 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Sep 88 p 7 AU*]

Honecker To Visit USSR at 'End of September'

LD2009143188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1324 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 20 Sep (ADN)—At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, will make a working visit to the Soviet Union at the end of September 1988.

Evangelical Federation Synod Opens in Dessau

AU2009124988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Sep 88 p 5

[Text] Dessau (ADN) Five-day talks of the synod of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, on the topic "To Live as a Community," opened in Dessau on Friday [16 Sep]. At the start, the synod members from the eight regional churches received the report of the Conference of Evangelical Church Directorates in the GDR.

Ecumenical guests from the CSSR, FRG, and Switzerland were welcomed to participate in the fourth meeting of the Fifth Synod of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR.

The report discusses in detail the relationship between state and church and points again to the importance of the talks which were held between the chairman of the State Council and the chairman of Church Directorates on 6 March 1978. It can be noted with gratitude that numerous specific issues, which were a subject of those talks, "have already become common practice," the report states. It has proved useful to make specific problems the topic of talks in order to find constructive solutions. Over the past few years, both sides have become more and more convinced "that there is no responsible alternative to the principles connected with 6 March 1978," the paper states, referring to the 3 March 1988 meeting between Regional Bishop Werner Leich, chairman of the conference, and Erich Honecker. The church will have to endeavor "to substantively specify in an adequate way where it really stands" as a "church in socialism," and it proceeds from the premise that its endeavor is taken seriously by the state, the report notes. The relation between the state and the church is still judged by the way the individual Christian and citizen experiences this relation in his situation in society. This could be seen very well at the four regional church conferences in June. "Knowing that every person in our country is needed and can find his place, we all have to contribute to consolidating our living together in our society and to making it more pleasant," the report states. We proceed from the principle "that there can be no question that cannot be discussed."

The report devotes much space to the safeguarding of peace and disarmament, to international solidarity, and to the preservation of life on earth. With gratitude we can note "that concerns and opinions, which have become decisive for the church's responsibility for peace, are also noticeable in the initiatives of our state in the field of international politics. This provides common ground for specific actions by the state and the church." Under this aspect, the GDR Church Federation participated in the Berlin international meeting on nuclear-free zones, the paper continues.

The report further deals with focal points of ecumenical cooperation concerning vital questions of mankind, as well as structural questions of the Evangelical regional churches and their cooperation within the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR.

In the further course of the meeting the topic of the synod will be discussed in groups, workshops, in Bible work, and in the plenum. Reports by the Secretariat of the Federation, and the Diaconal Charity Association, as well as other internal church topics, are also on the agenda.

Spokesman Condemns FRG 'Interference'

LD2009135988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1458 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 20 Sep (ADN)—On Monday, Ost, spokesman for the Bonn government, used the meeting of the synod of the Evangelical churches of the GDR in Dessau as an occasion to speak in a presumptuous manner about exclusively internal affairs of the GDR. Such an attempt at interference, Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, spokesman for the GDR Foreign Ministry, told ADN, must be decisively rejected. If Herr Ost refers to the Helsinki Final Act in this attempt, he should not forget that one of the main principles of international law contained in this document is that of noninterference in the internal affairs of other states.

State Council Decides on 7 May Local Elections

LD1909145988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1318 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 19 Sep (ADN)—The GDR State Council held a session in Berlin today under the chairmanship of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of State Council.

On the proposal of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, according to Article 72 of the Constitution and paragraph 6 of the GDR Election Law, decided to hold elections for kreis [district] assemblies, city assemblies, ward assemblies, and parish assemblies in 1989. The election date was set as 7 May 1989.

The State Council also dealt with a report given by Dr Guenter Sarge, president of the GDR Supreme Court, on the contribution of the judiciary to the protection of the national economy and socialist property. It clarifies that

the courts, with their specific means and in close cooperation with other judicial, protective, and security organs, are making a significant contribution to the protection of the national economy and socialist property.

During the discussion, Erich Honecker underlined that for the successful continuation of the economic and social policy, the careful handling of national property and its reliable protection are essential. "Protecting from attacks and damage those things which have been created through diligent work by the working people is as essential as efforts to fulfill the national economic plan and safeguard dynamic growth in output. More emphatic use must be made of the readiness of citizens to support strict adherence to our system of law. Social control must exert still greater influence to ensure that all violations of socialist legality and all signs of waste, carelessness, and thoughtless conduct are uncovered sternly and without regard to personal standing, and that the causes be permanently eliminated."

After detailed discussion, the State Council noted and approved the report. The president of the Supreme Court was instructed to evaluate with the directors of bezirk [area] courts the experience and findings contained in the report for the consistent implementation of laws, and to further increase public confidence in the legal system.

Laos' Kaysone Phomvihan Begins Visit

Welcomed by Gerhard Schuerer

LD1809101188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0802 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 18 Sep (ADN)—Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR], arrived in Berlin this morning for a several-day visit to the GDR. He has been invited by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

The guest from the friendly socialist country was warmly welcomed at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport on Erich Honecker's behalf by Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and other public figures.

Holds Talks With Honecker

LD1909154688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1426 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 19 Sep (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee and chairman of the LPDR Council of Ministers, met for a friendly exchange of views on Monday. Their talk at the Central Committee building focused on issues of developing cooperation between the two parties and states and the current problems of safeguarding peace.

Erich Honecker and Kaysone Phomvihan concurred in noting that the treaty on friendship and cooperation, signed in Berlin 6 years ago, had proven itself a strong basis for the flourishing development of relations in many areas. They expressed their conviction that the present visit by Kaysone Phomvihan to the GDR would be of far-reaching significance for further shaping cooperation.

While discussing the international situation, the two general secretaries noted a trend toward a change for the better. Now further steps for disarmament and confidence-building must be achieved, and confrontation must be steadily reduced and replaced by cooperation for the benefit of the peoples.

During a ceremony, Kaysone Phomvihan presented Erich Honecker with the highest award of his country, the Order of the Nation in gold. The Laotian guest praised Erich Honecker's great services to the consolidation and development of solidarity, fraternal friendship, and overall cooperation between Laos and the GDR.

Erich Honecker expressed thanks for the honor bestowed upon him by the Laotian party and state leadership. He saw in it the symbolic expression of the close fraternal relations and fruitful cooperation linking the two parties, states, and peoples. At the same time this award is a sign of the high appreciation for the work of the SED and the achievements of the GDR people.

Attends Honecker-Hosted Dinner

LD1909205088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1754 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Berlin, 19 Sep (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, hosted a dinner on Monday evening in honor of Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee and chairman of the LPDR.

Taking part in it were other members of the party and state leadership and the persons in the entourage of the Laotian statesman. Laotian citizens studying in the GDR were also invited. [passage omitted]

State Bodies Issue Joint Directive on 1989 Plan

AU1909191188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Sep 88 p 2

["Joint Directive of the SED Central Committee Politburo, the GDR State Council, and the FDGB Central Council, on the Preparation and Broad Democratic Discussion of the Targets and Tasks of the 1989 National Economic Plan With the Working People"]

[Text] The preparation and the broad democratic discussion of the targets and tasks of the national economic plan for 1989—the year of the 40th anniversary of the

founding of the GDR—is characterized by the basic guidelines on the further implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Central Committee, presented by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at the conference with the first secretaries of the kreis leaderships and by the decisions of the Sixth Session of the SED Central Committee.

The preparation of the 1989 plan is aimed at continuing to implement—in close, trusting cooperation with the working people—the economic strategy of the SED for the welfare of the people. It is necessary to develop all working people's imagination, initiative, and industriousness in the combines, enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions, as well as in the local and central state organs to guarantee the further stable and dynamic growth of the national economy, in line with the tested course of the unity of economic and social policy.

In honor of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, the socialist competition, which is organized by the FDGB, is being carried on under the binding slogan of "Great achievements for the welfare of the people and for peace—Everything for the implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress—Forward to the 40th anniversary of the GDR!"

The struggle for the fulfillment and product-specific overfulfillment of the 1988 national economic plan is to be organized in the tested way as a unified process together with the preparation of the 1989 plan. With high performances per workday, the tasks of the 1988 national economic plan are to be fulfilled steadily and in line with the required products, ranges, and contracts and are to be overfulfilled in those cases where appropriate material-technical conditions are available. Safeguarding the performance and efficiency targets is to be linked most closely with the further improvement of working and living conditions. In the practical implementation of the tested slogan of socialist democracy "Participate in working, in planning, in governing!", all working people are called upon to make a great personal contribution to the further political and economic strengthening of our country.

I. [Roman one]

By means of qualified leadership work, the 1989 state targets are to be substantiated in the work collectives, brigades, and—wherever possible—for every individual working person. All preconditions have to be established so that everyone can do his best to strengthen socialism in line with the slogan "My workplace—my combat station for peace." The plan discussion is to make it possible so that the state tasks fixed for 1989 will be, if possible, overfulfilled through discovering further reserves and developing the initiative, creativity, and energy of the working people.

—In close cooperation with the leaderships of the enterprise party organizations, the trade unions, and the FDJ, the managers in combines, enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions have to explain the itemized state targets for 1989 to the work collectives. All preconditions for the broad democratic participation of the working people in preparing the plan are to be established.

—Ample room is to be given everywhere to the working people's imagination and creative work. It is necessary to comprehensively utilize the working people's great treasure of experiences, their suggestions, proposals, and hints so as to reach a steadily increasing production output from all combines and enterprises for the society, and to raise the contribution to the national income. New sources for an increase in performance and efficiency are to be tapped by means of comparative performance appraisal and the widespread generalization of the best results and experiences.

—The prescribed state targets, including the production targets of the state plan positions, and the input norms and norm targets must be observed. They are to be supported by product ranges that meet demand, and by measures to safeguard high quality and to reduce input and thus costs. In close cooperation with the cooperation partners and the clients, a balanced development of earlier and later production phases and of component part production and final production must be ensured. Economic contracts are to be prepared and concluded in accordance with the prescribed performance and efficiency targets. The unity of plan, balance, and contract is to be ensured.

—The directors general of combines and managers of enterprises must base their economic work on the principle of self-financing, intensively expanded reproduction. In the plan discussion, the nature of self-financing is to be thoroughly explained to the working people, and the conviction must be strengthened that one's own high contribution to the national income is the basic precondition for the further successful implementation of the party's economic and social policy.

—The "GDR 40 FDJ Call" is to be comprehensively supported as an important contribution of the youth to strengthening the socialist fatherland. In all combines, enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions, the preconditions for young people's participation in the FDJ's economic initiatives are to be established.

—The managers are responsible so that all proposals, suggestions, and critical remarks of the working people and the trade union statements on state tasks, which are discussed and decided in members' assemblies and shop stewards' plenary assemblies, are taken into consideration. They are to be studied thoroughly, to be answered, and to be used in preparing a demanding 1989 draft plan and the 1989 enterprise collective contracts, in accordance with the social requirements and possibilities. —

Decisions necessary to safeguard the demanding performance and efficiency targets in 1989 are to be prepared thoroughly and to be made immediately by those responsible for the respective fields:

Decisions within the combine are to be made on the spot by the director general. The enterprise directors are obligated to make decisions on those questions that can be solved within the enterprise.

Decisions on a branch's main questions of content, which go beyond the sphere of the combines, are to be made by the responsible minister after joint deliberations with the directors general.

As for important technical tasks, which are of fundamental importance for the overall development of the national economy and which go beyond the sphere of decisionmaking by combines and ministers, the responsible ministers, together with the directors general, must work out proposals for decisions and submit them to the State Planning Commission.

—By means of close teamwork between the local councils and the enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions, a high growth of performances in the region and the further improvement of the citizens' living and housing conditions in towns and villages are to be attained.

The tasks to economically safeguard national defense and internal security and order are to be presented in a responsible manner as a basis for the plan preparation, and are to be integrated into the plans.

II. [Roman two]

In implementing the economic strategy with a view to the year 2000, the preparation of the 1989 national economic plan and the broad democratic discussion of its targets and tasks with the working people are to aim at:

—linking ever more effectively the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution, which has entered a new stage, and at thus widely applying and economically utilizing the key technologies, particularly microelectronics, for a new quality of economic growth;

—accelerating the increase in labor productivity; producing more high-quality products with less input in human and materialized labor; speedily introducing new productions into production; speedily accomplishing top-level achievements and thus attaining good economic results, which are reflected in net production and in the national income;

—ensuring production growth with declining unit input of raw materials, other materials, and energy sources and therefore reducing the proportion of unit input in the final product by means of increasing refinement; and achieving further progress in the economical use of material and energy;

—achieving high-quality production everywhere in line with international standards and producing high-quality new products at the lowest-possible cost which can be sold at a good profit on the international market. The mass initiative for faultless production is to be comprehensively promoted;

—reaching a higher level of socialist rationalization and automation by applying modern key technologies to a great extent; qualitatively and quantitatively strengthening in-house production of rationalization means for this purpose, especially by means of microelectronics; and improving the working people's working conditions in close connection with rationalization;

—increasing work efficiency; using the work capacity in an economical manner; utilizing the basic assets as effectively as possible; and guaranteeing order, safety, and discipline everywhere; and gaining labor for the planned performance increase through the overall promotion of the Schwedt initiative;

—using the available investments especially for comprehensive rationalization, modernization, and reconstruction of the existing basic assets; completing and putting into service the investment projects on schedule and in line with the planned performance and input targets. For this purpose, the expanded possibilities of preparing and carrying through—with the enterprises' own responsibility—self-financed investment projects are to be purposefully used for high performance and efficient growth;

—producing a greater number of high-quality consumer goods which are in high demand, particularly for supplying the population and for exports;

—ensuring a steady and dynamic performance increase, for the purpose of which the mutual interlacing of science and production, the basic and advanced training of the people, and a creative climate in the entire social life are to be used even more comprehensively;

—steadily deepening intensively expanded reproduction in order to continue the policy for the welfare of the people on a lasting basis.

In this way it is necessary to further deepen the people's good experiences in connection with the socialist planned economy. These experiences show that economic dynamism, social security and protection, full employment, free education and medical care and

projects with the dimension of the housing program provide strong stimuli to the personal commitment of every individual to fulfill the demanding goals of our socialist society.

III. [Roman three]

As a basic precondition for fulfilling the economic tasks, particularly those relating to the comprehensive shaping of the intensification of the national economy, the socialist economic integration with the USSR and the other CEMA countries in line with the long-term programs for the development of cooperation in the fields of science, technology, and production, and the comprehensive program of scientific-technological progress of the CEMA member countries through the year 2000, is to be further developed.

On the basis of the plans, the direct relations between the GDR combines, enterprises, and institutions with the partners in the USSR and in the other socialist countries are to be utilized to make cooperation in science and production, which has been agreed upon in agreements and contracts, even more effective.

With the preparation of the 1989 national economic plan, the targets for the development of exports are to be materially supported at all levels by producing products and services which make a profit in foreign currencies and which are in high demand in markets.

Scientific-technological cooperation with the developing countries is to be developed according to the plan and for mutual benefit by taking into consideration the specific wishes with regard to deliveries and purchases. Trade and economic relations with the capitalist industrial countries are to be further developed in order to strengthen the economic bases of the safeguarding of peace, while consistently observing equal rights.

The SED Central Committee, the GDR Council of Ministers, and the FDGB Central Council are convinced that with their proposals in the plan discussion on preparing the 1989 national economic plan, the GDR working people will make a worthy contribution to implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and to preparing for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. The overall strengthening of the GDR through high performances is an important contribution to consolidating the international stands of socialism, to detente, to disarmament, and to the safeguarding of peace.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 8-14 Sep Noted

AU1609170888 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 9 to 15 September reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

The following members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo participated in a dinner given by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, in honor of Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, in Berlin on 8 September: Horst Sindermann, Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Werner Krolikowski, Guenter Mittag, Guenter Schabowski, Inge Lange, and Gerhard Schuerer. Also present was Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer. (9 Sep, p 1)

The following members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo saw off Hungarian Premier Karoly Grosz from Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport on 9 September: Erich Honecker, Horst Sindermann, Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowisnky, Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Guenter Schabowksi, and Inge Lange. Also present was Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer. (10-11 Sep, p 1)

The following members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo attended the antifascist rally to mark the international memorial day for the victims of fascist terrorism in Berlin on 11 September: Erich Honecker, Horst Sindermann, Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Guenter Schabowski, Inge Lange, and Gerhard Schuerer. (12 Sep, p 1)

The following members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo were present at a dinner given by Erich Honecker in honor of Danish Prime Minister Poul Schlueter in Berlin on 13 September: Willi Stoph, Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Guenter Mittag, Guenter Schabowski, and Inge Lange. Also present was Foreign Minister Heinz Fischer. (14 Sep, p 1)

Erich Honecker, Willi Stoph, Horst Sindermann, and Kurt Hager attended the state memorial ceremony for Politburo member Werner Felfe in the house of the SED Central Committee in Berlin on 12 September. (13 Sep, p 1)

Horst Sindermann, Politburo member and president of the GDR People's Chamber, and Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a reception given by DPRK Ambassador Pak Yong-chan on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK, in Berlin on 9 September. (10-11 Sep, p 2)

Hermann Axen and Horst Dohlus accepted the condolences on the death of Werner Felfe expressed by the diplomatic corps in Berlin on 12 September. (13 Sep, p 5)

Hermann Axen, Politburo member, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the People's Chamber, received Heinz Fischer, floor leader of the Socialist Party of Austria in the Nationalrat and deputy party chairman, in Berlin on 9 September. (10-11 Sep, p 2)

Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Halle Bezirk leadership, attended a meeting of German-Soviet friendship in the Leuna "Walter Ulbricht" Combine on 8 September. (9 Sep, p 2)

Hans-Joachim Boehme attended an accountability election meeting in the Buna Combine in Merseburg on 14 September. (15 Sep, p 4)

Horst Dohlus, Politburo member and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, attended a cocktail given by the Ethiopian ambassador on the 14th anniversary of the Ethiopian revolution, in Berlin on 12 September. (13 Sep, p 5)

Werner Eberlein, Politburo member and first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership, visited the VEB [state-owned firm] Polyplast, Halberstadt, on 13 September. (14 Sep, p 2)

Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, conveyed greetings and congratulations from the SED to Werner Scheler, president of the GDR Academy of Sciences, on his 65th birthday and awarded him the honorary title "meritorious scientist of the people" in Berlin on 12 September. (13 Sep, p 5)

Guenter Kleiber, Politburo member and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Manuel Gutierrez Vega, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Economic Cooperation of the Republic of Cuba, in Berlin on 9 September. (10-11 Sep, p 2)

Werner Krolikowski, Politburo member and first deputy chairman of GDR Council of Ministers, received a delegation of Irish deputies headed by Sean Treacy, president of the Irish Parliament, in Berlin on 9 September. (10-11 Sep, p 2)

Werner Krolikowski welcomed representatives of foreign organizations of former antifascist fighters and comrades from the GDR at a reception in the house of the GDR Council of Ministers at the conclusion of the international memorial day for the victims of fascist terrorism, in Berlin on 10 September. (12 Sep, p 2)

Gerhard Mueller, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Erfurt Bezirk leadership, attended an election meeting in the Erfurt Metal-Forming Combine on 13 September. (14 Sep, p 2)

Margarete Mueller, candidate member of the Politburo, attended a conference of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association in Neubrandenburg on 14 September. (15 Sep, p 4)

Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, give a speech at the party aktiv meeting in Berlin on 9 September. (BERLINER ZEITUNG 10-11 Sep, p 5)

Guenter Schabowski attended the opening of the 30th Berlin Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow on 13 September. (14 Sep, p 8)

Horst Sindermann, member of the Politburo and president of the GDR People's Chamber, received the "Great Band of the Order of Merit of the PPR," which was presented to him by Roman Malinowski, marshal of the Sejm, at a festive ceremony in the PPR Embassy in Berlin on 13 September. (14 Sep, p 2)

Grosz Holds News Conference in Berlin

AU1409080088 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Sep 88 p 3

[Berlin correspondent Dezso Pinter's telephone report on international news conference held by Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and premier, in Berlin on 9 September: "International Press Conference—The Visit Has Fulfilled the Expectations"]

[Text] The official talks between Karoly Grosz and his host, SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker, ended on 9 September.

A joint communique was issued following the talks held in the SED Central Committee Headquarters.

Following the talks, Karoly Grosz held an international press conference in the Conference Hall of the Niederschonhausen Castle.

First, Ambassador Istvan Roska greeted the participants at the press conference and then called upon MSZMP spokesman Laszlo Major to chair the press conference. After greeting the participants, Laszlo Major gave the floor to Karoly Grosz, who made the following statement about his talks:

"Comrades, ladies and gentlemen!

"I greet you and thank you for accepting the invitation of our embassy and for providing an opportunity for this meeting.

"My 2-day official visit of friendship to the GDR is nearing its end. We sincerely welcomed Erich Honecker's invitation and we prepared for this meeting with great expectations and interest. I can say with satisfaction that our visit has fulfilled the expectations. We have held a successful and useful exchange of views and we now understand better the GDR experiences and concepts concerning the future and the development of scientific and social life.

"We have mutually formulated at our talks that we have a fundamental interest in cooperation, and that we have identical goals. We highly appreciate the results achieved by the GDR and we respect the practice that is in harmony with the national characteristics. As our talks have proved, we also welcome the objective and open way in which the GDR follows the activity of the MSZMP. We felt that our search for new ways is followed with sympathy. We have concluded with sincere satisfaction that there are neither political nor economic obstacles hindering the development of our bilateral relations. We think that the use of the intellectual and technological capacity existing in the two countries is one of our most urgent tasks.

"Today, I have had the opportunity to meet with the heads of 40 of the GDR's large-scale enterprises. We have held an extremely useful exchange of views and I noticed that there is also mutual interest in cooperation on the enterprise level, and not only on the political and government levels. A lot of valuable observations and proposals have been made at this meeting. We will endeavor to help our enterprises carry out more efficient cooperation by means of economic conditions and state planning.

"This visit has also proved that there is a complete identity of views between Hungary and the GDR on every major foreign policy issue. We highly appreciate and support the GDR initiatives aimed at strengthening peace and security in Europe. We Hungarians also endeavor to maintain and strengthen the process of detente currently in progress in international life.

"Thank you for your attention. I am ready for your questions."

A correspondent from the Italian press agency asked Karoly Grosz about the Hungarian national minority and the Hungarian-Romanian summit in Arad.

[Grosz] We have always raised our voice in defense of the rights of every national minority, and we will do so in the future too. This is one of the central points of our policy. We also consider it our responsibility to guarantee equal rights for all the national minorities living in Hungary. Life, and not words, will show the results of my meeting with President Ceausescu. Our letter to the United Nations was sent before this meeting.

Mutual Information [subhead]

MAGYAR HIRLAP correspondent: In your introduction, you said that your negotiating partners here in the GDR had received Hungary's search for new ways with sympathy. Obviously, this searching for new ways is identical to the Hungarian reform efforts. Please tell us the details about the extent to which the Hungarian reform efforts were dealt with at the meeting. Have you also discussed reform efforts other than economic ones—I mean the reform of political institutions— and have there been any areas of disagreement?

[Grosz] The reform and searching for a way are not completely identical factors, because, in addition to our domestic reform efforts, our international openness is also part of this search. Events of recent months and events of the coming months provide ample proof of this. I would like to reassure you that we have thoroughly analyzed the issues of the Hungarian economic and political reform, because the Hungarian party has always regarded informing its fraternal parties about its concepts and intentions as its political and moral responsibility.

Today, it is no longer customary to evaluate each other's activity. Erich Honecker and I believe that each party is searching for solutions to emerging issues according to its own characteristics and conditions. Only the society in which the party lives and works can judge our policy. Thus, our exchange of views and discussion covered the issue of mutual information.

In response to a question by a correspondent from GDR Television, Karoly Grosz said: "I have an obsession. Every theory and every political goal is worth as much as one can implement. Our parties and governments encourage broad economic cooperation, but the quality, level, and efficiency of this cooperation will be decided by the enterprises.

"The Hungarian Government does not interfere directly in the life of enterprises. Therefore, this is a great opportunity for us, and for me personally, to learn about the experiences and opinions of the heads of enterprises which cooperate with us. This information helps us in our government activity of improving the conditions of our cooperation by means of indirect regulating instruments. I am grateful to the heads of the combines for coming to this meeting in spite of their extensive work and at the time of the Leipzig Fair."

A correspondent from the Chinese WORLD ECONOMIC HERALD asked Karoly Grosz about the lessons of our economic reform and about pluralism in Hungary.

[Grosz] I cannot give a detailed answer to your first question because I would not go home today if I started to elaborate on this. Many successes and a considerable number of failures have occurred in the last 20 years. One of the major lessons to be learned from this is that no reform can be carried out half-heartedly. Another important lesson is that the reform cannot be carried out in itself, only in the economy, and the harmony between economic and social processes must also be maintained during the reform. Another important lesson is that it is impossible to create a complete harmony between desires and reality. The most clear-cut goals can be implemented only through contradictions and fluctuations. Therefore, it is a historic lesson for us that we need patience and firmness in carrying out reforms. However, patience should not be identical with helplessness and idleness.

As to how to overcome our current problems we have come to a very simple conclusion: We should work!

As to your second question concerning pluralism in Hungary, I can tell you that there is a need for a multitude of opinions in order to be able to formulate the right answer to the emerging questions. History did not justify our previous opinion that differences of interests in society disappear automatically in the course of development. On the contrary, each and every stage of development reveals new differences of interest and contradictions. Because we have already reached the conclusion that the party cannot be the sole owner of wise answers, we also need other people's opinion. Therefore, we are open to any opposing opinion, particularly of those who want to contribute to development. What is the danger of pluralism? If the political style is not of a properly high standard, if there is not enough self-control and self-discipline, and if the rules of the political game are not clear, the debate will become self-contained and, contrary to its intention, it will hinder, rather than promote, development. However, our experience shows that nothing new has ever been born in the history of mankind without taking risks. Therefore, we must accept the danger of leaving the shoreline.

Hungarian Radio correspondent: I have two questions, one of which is connected with economic cooperation. As I see it, it has been proved that there are mutual good and great intentions for cooperation. On the other hand, the economic conditions of our two countries are increasingly different from each other, and this greatly hinders our economic cooperation, even from a technical viewpoint. What solutions can help implement this intent to cooperate?

My other question is the following: I presume that the mutual information exchanged also covered Hungarian-Romanian relations, all the more so because the GDR, Hungary, and Romania are allies. What is the GDR position that emerged during these talks? How does the GDR regard the German minority in Romania?

[Grosz] Regarding your first question, I do not think that our economic conditions are increasingly different; I see differences in our methods of economic management. A single principle can connect the various practices here—namely, the principle of mutual coordination of interests. We have not forced, nor will we force, any of our enterprises to accept cooperation or ventures that are contradictory to their interests. If it is in the interest of a Hungarian enterprise to cooperate with a GDR enterprise, it should adjust to this GDR enterprise. If not, it should not make a deal with a GDR enterprise.

As for the Hungarian-Romanian relations, of course I have informed Erich Honecker about my experience in Romania and he accepted my information with thanks. I am not aware of the position of the German comrades regarding the situation of the 200,000 German national minority living in Romania.

A correspondent from the Greek Communist Party daily asked Karoly Grosz the following question: "What is Hungary's position on the issue of nuclear-free zones in Europe? How does indebtedness affect Hungary's relations with the banks?"

[Grosz] We Hungarians will gladly join any nuclear-free zone. If this zone passes through Hungary, you can count on us. We think that the possibility of creating a nuclear-free zone stretching from northern Europe to the Balkans

should be analyzed, and the experts should work out the details of such a plan. The Hungarian People's Republic is a partner in this endeavor. We have only offered our active cooperation, and the word "only" here is not a small thing.

As for your second question, you are well informed: The Hungarian People's Republic does indeed have large debts. However, we have not said that we would not take further credits because our program adopted by the parliament in September 1987 stipulated a halt in the increase of our debts by 1990. We have not thought of or asked for our debts to be canceled. I am aware of the concepts and proposals connected with this, and I regard this as justified in the case of certain countries that are less developed economically than Hungary. At the same time, I am convinced that the Hungarian economy is able to work off the debts it has accumulated, but this can be done only in a longer time. Of course, the international financial processes cannot be eliminated, and it would be irresponsible to engage in conjecture. We are determined to carry out a more efficient and successful economic management by restructuring our economy. Our exports to capitalist countries increased by 22 percent in the first 8 months of the current year, and our imports remained unchanged. This shows that there are possibilities for releasing the reserves.

NEPSZABADSAG correspondent: "What is the role of cooperation between the parties in solving international issues? I do not mean here only two fraternal parties, but also the other communist parties and other parties in Europe.

We Want To Learn From Everyone [subhead]

[Grosz] It has been a tradition in the communist movement that cooperation between parties affects the cooperation between state and public bodies. Therefore, it is natural that we have discussed this issue in detail during our talks. This issue has become more varied in recent years, and cooperation between the communist parties and the other great stream of the workers' movement, the social democratic parties, has intensified and become broader. The joint initiative of the MSZMP, the Finish Social Democratic Party, and the Italian Socialist Party, which is also supported by the GDR, is a good example of this. The essence of this initiative is that there should be greater cooperation among countries that do not possess nuclear arms.

A correspondent of the GDR press agency mentioned the traditions of bilateral scientific cooperation and asked Karoly Grosz about the main areas of further cooperation.

[Grosz] We have also discussed this issue today. It has become a tradition in Hungary too, and I noticed with great pleasure that there is a joint scientific research program in force between the GDR combines and the Hungarian universities and academic institutions. We encourage cooperation primarily in four areas: microelectronics, computer sciences, robotics, and biotechnology. I would like to tell you that there are well-trained mathematicians, physicists, and chemists in Hungary who have already joined important research projects and have been participating in research programs in many countries of the world. Thus, they are only glad to join the initiatives of the GDR combines.

A correspondent of the SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG asked Karoly Grosz about the situation of the Hungarian and German national minorities living in Romania.

[Grosz] This question has already been asked and I have already given a clear answer.

STERN correspondent: What is the GDR reaction to the new world passports provided to Hungarian citizens?

[Grosz] The GDR had a good reaction to this, and Hungarians had a particularly good reaction to this. But, so far, this has cost us $200,000,000. So, I hope that the Hungarians will give up this habit a little, at least temporarily.

Answering a question on whether the MSZMP wants to be a people's party, Karoly Grosz said the following:

"Today, I cannot seriously declare that the MSZMP is the party of the entire nation, and theoretically, this will become possible only under communism. And it seems to me that we will have to wait a little for that. However, I have said that we are striving to become such a party, and that means that one should see this as a process, and the party is increasingly trying to integrate the interests of various strata of the society and to shape its policy in a way that will strengthen its mass support. This way will lead to the final goal of its eliminating itself. Besides, this is Marx's idea and not mine. Thank you."

In his answer to a final question, Karoly Grosz said the following:

"We want to learn from everyone: from America to Europe, from Asia to Europe, and from Africa to Europe. At the same time, we formulate our policy on our own account and according to our own conditions. We make all our experiences available to everyone's disposal. It is one's own responsibility what one uses and what one finds suitable for one's own conditions. This is a school where the students register voluntarily. Thank you for your attention."

Grosz Begins Visit to Debrecen 16 Sep

LD1709020588 Budapest MTI in English 2114 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 16 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] general secretary and prime minister, arrived in Debrecen on Friday [16 September] evening.

At the headquarters of the county party committee, First Secretary Sandor Postas informed the general secretary on the political, social and economic life in Hajdu-Bihar County. Talking about the mood of the public and party members he said that besides dissatisfaction it can be characterized with eagerness to act and a sense of responsibility. On the county party conference, to open on Saturday, he said that it was convened with the support and consent of the party membership in order to stipulate the local tasks that derive from the policy statement of the national party conference and to renew the leading bodies. Following the party conference uniform and quick action is needed and the tasks can be implemented only under the leadership of the body that has the unanimous confidence of the party membership.

Karoly Grosz said that the party forum of Hajdu-Bihar County can be taken as a model because the county gives a cross section of society. With its developed agriculture and large number of professionals it characteristically reflects the domestic problems and public mood. On social problems he said that it has to be found where they originate, and how they can be tackled. The general secretary is expecting contributions from the Saturday forum.

Currency Regulations With SFRY Relaxed

LD1809103288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Hungarian citizens traveling to Yugoslavia in the future will not have to produce convertible currency equivalent to 3,000 forints at the border. Nor will it be obligatory for Yugoslav citizens coming to our country to change dinars. The measure is aimed at developing tourism. Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy informed his Yugoslav counterparts in Belgrade about its introduction.

The Hungarian deputy premier was in Yugoslavia on a brief working visit, where he held talks on the expansion of economic cooperation. There was talk of our country taking part in the modernization of the port of Split, and of undertaking transit delivery of larger amounts of natural gas and crude oil to Yugoslavia.

Lukacs, Szuros Meet SED Official Boehme

LD1709020188 Budapest MTI in English 1334 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 16 (MTI)—Janos Lukacs, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] and secretary of the Central Committee, and Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee, met on Friday [16 September] in HSWP Central Committee headquarters Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and first secretary of the party committee of Halle County.

Also present at the meetings was Gerd Vehres, ambassador of the German Democratic Republic to Hungary.

Marjai Discusses Reforms, Economics in Lecture

LD1309223388 Budapest MTI in English 1945 GMT 13 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 13 (MTI)—At the Kano Kalman Technical College on Tuesday [13 September] evening the reform-backing series continued with economic policy lectures and consultations. Deputy Premier and Minister of Trade Jozsef Marjai discussed primarily the problems of the Hungarian economy and the government's stance with the students.

Jozsef Marjai said that no major improvements were achieved in the structural change, but this year seems to be favourable regarding the hard currency export figures. It is noteworthy, that in the most sophisticated markets in the capitalist countries, sales increased rationally. The Hungarian companies made use of the favourable boom and to our benefit some raw material prices have increased. As a result the trade balance of the first eight months is USD 500 million up on the similar period of last year. It is expected that by the end of the year the active foreign trade balance to reach the planned USD 250 million.

The major problem, however, remains that this result is not associated with structural changes and transitory factors, such as a boom in the world economy and favourable shifts in the terms of trade, play an important role. This means we have not obtained the means of sound stabilization. It is the government's basic effort to provide the conditions for a breakthrough in structural changes. In taking the necessary measures the tolerance of the society to hardships and the tensions in the different social strata have to be considered. Several participants asked Jozsef Marjai for his opinion on the higher than planned inflation. He replied that not only prices are increasing at a higher rate but also wages. In answer to questions, he stated that the calculations of the Central Statistical Office on inflation are reliable and international institutes have reached the same conclusions by analysing Hungarian statistical methods.

Jozsef Marjai said that according to recent forcasts the rate of consumer price increases should not exceed this year's level.

The students also inquired if financial restrictions affected the expenditures of the administration. The deputy premier said in 1989 the administration's expenditure including defence will also decrease. It is expected that the number of ministries will decline further and that there will be cuts in state administration staff.

The indebtedness was also widely discussed. When could the Hungarian economy's performance be increased to an extent which allows for the substantial reduction of the debt service? To this question Jozsef Marjai said that

the situation can improve only gradually in the next 5-6 years, and that debt servicing and improving the economic balance imposes a heavy burden on the economy and the population. At the same time political stability and confidence in the government are of vital importance. The government tries to live up to the expectations and provide sincere and continuous information on the development of the economic situation.

Speaking on next year's economy plans, he said, that the administration supports the Variant A which was discussed at the last meeting of the Central Committee. The socialist market economy should be set up with free pricing of production factors, the liberalization of imports, and the free movement of labour, money and capital. These aims are included in Variant A, the implementation of which is questioned in two issues. Speeding up the reform would entail further price increases and at present it seems that the required outside resources are not fully available. Partial modification is therefore being worked out. On the basic principles Jozsef Marjai said that according to his calculations, next year an even higher positive balance should be reached in convertible accounting and further increase in the debts not exceed USD 500 million.

Austrian Official Addresses Danube Dam Meeting
LD1209162888 Budapest MTI in English
1217 GMT 12 Sep 88

["Debate on the Dam Rolls On"—MTI ECONEWS headline]

[Text] Budapest, September 12, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Erhardt Busek, deputy chairman of the Austrian People's Party, urged the revision of the project [construction of the the Bos-Nagymaros Dam] with Hungary to give a chance for the country to terminate the agreement without having to pay a penalty.

The Austrian politician was addressing a week-end conference in the Danube bend on the project which has been firmly opposed by international environmentalist movements. The meeting was organized by the Hungarian Democratic Forum formed just a week ago.

Reacting to Mr Busek's statement Mr Jozsef Ehn, general manager of Viziterv Hungarian Design Institute for Hydrological Projects, asked the Austrian politician "to 'produce' an Austrian Government guarantee before the planned debate of the issue in Parliament on October 5 in which they would pledge to waive the penalty in case Hungary terminates the agreement. [no closing quotation mark as received] The hydrological expert did not specify whether he held such a solution possible.

Mr Ehn said he was in complete agreement with those who claimed the construction of the the Bos-Nagymaros Dam was no longer a technical but rather a political question, and said, on behalf of hydrologists, that they would try to perform the job with the utmost professional conscience.

"I do not wish to go into detail about the history of the mechanism of the project, as it is no different from the rest of the projects over the past forty years", he said with a touch of irony.

Several senior politicians have already gone to the length of admitting the Bos-Nagymaros project was economically unreasonable, or at least that if the Hungarian Government were to take a decision today, it would probably reject the project.

The week-end conference was attended by representatives of a group of Czechoslovak intellectuals called Czech Network of Democratic Initiatives. Speaking on their behalf, Bohumil Dolezal said neither the construction nor the eventual termaination of the project should influence good-neighbourly relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

The 650 participants approved the text of a letter which will be sent to every member of the Hungarian Parliament, reminding them to vote at debate on the dam in Parliament "with a responsibility worthy of their historic mission."

Just like at the meeting a week ago, the representatives of Hungarian and international environmentalist groups approved a position calling for the halting of the construction at Nagymaros, for the revision of the whole project by independent experts and for the identification of responsibilities.

It was disclosed at the press conference on the meeting that the orginal programme included the screening of a Soviet film called "The Dam" on the harmful consequences of building hydropower plants in flat areas but the orgnaizers were unable to get a copy of the film.

PEN Club Condemns Romanian Resettlement Plan
AU1509170188 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 13 Sep 88 p 4

[Decision of the 52d International PEN [writers and authors club] Club Congress recently held in Seoul]

[Text] The participants in the 52d International PEN Congress held in Seoul are astonished at the "territorial reorganization" and resettlement plans of the Romanian Government. These are plans which practically lead to the destruction of several thousand Hungarian, German, Serbian, and other national minority villages, and to the destruction of an important part of the common European cultural heritage; and plans which, if implemented,

will represent a cultural genocide and will lead to the annihilation of Hungarian, German, Serbian, and other national minorities living in Romania.

The participants in the congress view with consternation the Romanian authorities' efforts aimed at increasingly limiting the use of the Hungarian language by gradually eliminating possibilities for the 2-million Hungarian national minority in Transylvania to learn in their mother tongue, and thus, deliberately carrying out a policy of forced assimilation of the national minorities living in Romania.

The participants in the congress are deeply concerned about the drastic limitation of the availability of Hungarian-language books, journals, and newspapers in Romania. The consistent harassment of Hungarian writers, actors, and other artists and intellectuals in Transylvania and their repeated arrest force many of them to leave their homeland. Thus, deprived of their leaders, the Hungarian national minority in Transylvania are defenseless against the Romanian authorities' efforts aimed at wiping out the national identity of the national minorities living in Romania.

Therefore, the participants in the PEN Congress call upon the Romanian Government to put an end to the destruction of Hungarian, German, Serbian, and other national minority villages in Romania;

To respect the human rights of the national minorities living in Romania; and to give up its policy of cultural genocide.

Leaders' Public Apearances for 6-13 Sep Noted

AU1609111488 [Editorial Report] Budapest newspapers in Hungarian from 7 to 14 September report on the public appearances of the following leaders (source, date, and page number of each report is given in parentheses):

MSZMP Politburo member Janos Berecz, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, attended an international rock concert organized on the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in People's Stadium in Budapest, on 6 September. (NEPSZABADSAG, 7 Sep, p 3)

Janos Berecz also participated in a festive meeting held in the PPF Headquarters on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the PPF daily MAGYAR NEMZET, on 7 September. (NEPSZABADSAG, 8 Sep, p 3)

MSZMP Politburo member Csaba Hamori, first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, attended a meeting of the Budapest office of the WFDY on 7 September. (NEPSZABADSAG, 8 Sep, p 8)

MSZMP Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Janos Berecz participated and took the floor in a festive meeting for laying the foundation stone of an SOS Children Village in Kecskemet, on 8 September. (NEPSZABADSAG, 9 Sep, p 5)

MSZMP Politburo member and Minister of State Imre Pozsgay met with heads of the National Council of Producer Cooperatives, the National Federation of Cooperatives, and the National Federation of Artisan Cooperatives, in the parliament, on 8 September. (NEPSZABADSAG, 9 Sep, p 5)

MSZMP Politburo member Csaba Hamori, first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, participated in a youth political forum held in Miskolc, on 9 September. (NEPSZABADSAG, 10 Sep, p 5)

MSZMP Politburo member Judit Csehak, minister of Social Welfare and Health, left for the 38th session of the WHO European Regional Committee in Copenhagen on 9 September. (NEPSZABADSAG, 10 Sep, p 5)

Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy participated in the opening of the Brno Fair in the CSSR on 13 September. (NEPSZABADSAG, 14 Sep, p 5)

Briefs

Book on Bukharin

A book on Nikolay Bukharin will soon appear in Budapest. I believe this is the first time in the socialist countries that there is an informative assessment of the Soviet revolutionary and victim of Stalinist tyranny, whose name it was forbidden for decades to say or write. The author of the book is Miklos Kun. [Excerpt] [*LD2009012288 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 19 Sep 88 LD*]

19 Sep Sejm Session Proceedings Reported

Accepts Government Resignation

LD1909195488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1928 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] We now interrupt our report from today's Sejm proceedings. Here is the latest news from Wiejska Street.

[Unidentified reporter] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. After more than 12 hours of debate, the Sejm accepted the resignation of Premier Zbigniew Messner's government.

[Second unidentified reporter] In an open ballot 359 deputies voted to accept the government's resignation. There was one vote against and 17 deputies abstained.

The Sejm passed a resolution which states that in connection with the Council of Ministers recall, it entrusts the current government with the execution of its duties until a new government is appointed.

The chamber also accepted the report by the Special Commission for Monitoring the Implementing the Economic Reform. The Sejm sitting thus ended.

Recalls Council of Ministers

LD1909223288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] After a recess in the Sejm proceedings speaker Roman Malinowski gave the floor to Premier Zbigniew Messner, who said:

[Begin recording] [Messner] Citizen speaker. May it please the House. I listened to today's discussion with great attention. It contained a great many critical voices but there were also voices which illustrated the government's partial attainments, as well as the circumstances and difficulties in which the government has been working. I would like to express my gratitude for all these contributions, but at the same time I would like to emphasize once again that while there were critical voices today, there have also been critical speeches at earlier Sejm sessions and in commissions. Apart from that, the commission which submitted its report contained therein a great many critical observations addressed to the government. Nor can we ignore public opinion. In view of this I ask once more, in the name of our raison d'etat—in the name of our reasons of state, the superior reasons of our state in the present situation—that the government resignation be accepted. This will solve many problems for us. [applause]

[Malinowski] Thank you. In his speech the chairman of the Council of Ministers' submitted the government's resignation. He maintained it in his final address. Before we begin to vote I would like to remind you that, in accordance with Article 31 and Article (? 59) of the Statute, the Sejm appoints and recalls the government by an absolute majority with at least half the total number of deputies present. I declare that the required number of deputies is taking part in the sitting. We shall vote by a show of hands only. In connection with a vote on the recalling of the government I ordain that a vote count be taken.

I propose that the Sejm resolve the following:

The Sejm of the Polish Peoples Republic, in connection witht the government resignation submitted by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, on the basis of Article 37, Paragraph 1, of the Constitution of the Polish Peoples Republic, hereby recalls the Council of Ministers.

Would those citizen deputies in favor of this resolution please raise their hands. Thank you.

Those against. Thank you.

Those abstaining. Thank you.

I hereby announce the result of the vote. Three hundred and fifty-nine [as heard] deputies voted in favor of the resolution, 1 deputy was against, 17 deputies abstained from voting. I hereby declare that the Sejm has recalled the Council of Ministers.

In connection with the recalling of the government I propose that the following be resolved:

The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, in connection with the recalling of the government, entrusts the government with continuing the execution of its duties in a provisional composition until a new Council of Ministers is appointed.

Would those citizen deputies in favor of this resolution please raise their hands. Thank you.

Those against. I see none.

Those abstaining. I see none.

I hereby announce that the Sejm has adopted the resolution.

The Special Commission for Monitoring the Implementation of the Economic Reform has submitted a draft resolution contained in Sejm Paper No 372. We shall now vote.

Would those citizen deputies in favor of the resolution please raise their hands. Thank you.

Those against. I see none.

Those abstaining. Three deputies.

I hereby announce that the Sejm has passed the resolution.

The agenda of today's sitting has been exhausted. We hereby end the 37th sitting of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. The record of the sitting will be available for examination at the Office of Sejm Work. Citizen deputies will be notified of the date of the next sitting. I hereby close the sitting. [three knocks] [end recording]

Warsaw Reports on Session

LD1909152888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] [Announcer] Now over to our Sejm reporters, Jerzy Tomaszewski and Henryk Walczak.

[First correspondent] Good day, ladies and gentlemen. Once again, the most important of today's news: Premier Zbigniew Messner has announced the government's resignation to the Sejm. We broadcast his speech on Warsaw Radio's first program. The deputies' debate then began. More than 30 people are scheduled to speak.

The first speaker was Deputy Jozef Barecki, who, speaking on behalf of the PZPR parliamentary party, stressed that not for the first time, the state of the economy had left its mark on the country's social and political situation. The prices and incomes operation was linked with assurances that it would bring an improvement in the situation. This target was not achieved, which undermined faith in the further reform of the economy and intensified criticism of the government. The deputy recalled that recently various groups had assessd and analyzed the situation, inlcuding the Sejm Extraordinary Commission. The PZPR fully endorsed the assessment presented by the commission and the conclusions emerging from that assessment regarding profound changes in the government. The work of the extraordinary commission focused on the causes of the present difficulties. The commision was perceived the complicated conditions in which the government was working [passage indistinct] The speaker stated that the PZPR had itself proposed the creation of a broad proreform coalition, to which the roundtable talks could contribute. He gave assurances that the PZPR parliamentary party would implement the bold ideas of the reform.

We share the standpoint of the extraordinary commission regarding the general shape of economic and sociopolitical policy over the next 2 years, Deputy Boleslaw Struzek said, speaking on behalf of the parliamentary party of the United Peasant Party. The solutions to the most urgent Polish problems must not be sought solely in formal, though profound changes in the composition of the government. There must be concern shown for a reconstruction in the functioning of the authorities. This stance was presented during the third plenum of the ZSL Supreme Committee, which spoke of the vital need to separate the powers and responsibility of political parties from the powers of the representative organs of the state administration and those managing the economy. One also has to strive, Deputy Struzek said, to broaden and strengthen the coalition of patriotic forces.

Next, on behalf of the Democratic Party, Deputy Ryszard Tomczewski took the floor. He stresssed that the government had carried out a series of positive steps, but their share in the undertaking as a whole was insufficient to begin the process of taking the country out of the crisis. Indicating society's decreasing confidence in the authorities, the speaker drew attention to some conditioning factors of this phenomenon, particularly the lack of cohesion between the promises and assurances and the practice of everyday life. He accented the lack of proper cadre policy and maintaining [words indistinct] who had not passed the test in responsible posts. He also stressed the vital need for political changes, especially in the legal sanctioning of the principle of only indirect political authority, and the actual and not just formal attribution of decisions to the constitutional organs of state. Other issues raised by the deputy were the need to treat the intelligentsia as a sovereign entity [podmiotowe traktowanie inteligencji] and the creation of legal guarantees of the existence and conditions of development for the private (?economy) outside agriculture.

Society, the speaker concluded, is prepared to make sacrifices, on condition that it is profoundly convinced that they will not be in vain. The draft Sejm resolution contains a proposal on the invevitability of profound changes in the government. The SD accepts the resignation of the government as a practical implementation of this proposal.

The date for the beginning of the roundtable deliberations, said Deputy Jan Karol Kostrzewski, nonparty, seem distant, considering the rate of the changes taking place in the country. This period must be well used, both for the essential preparations for the deliberations, as well as for making the decisions that are ripe for it. The deputy devoted a considerable part of this speech to the critical situation of Polish science and the threats to protection and formation of the natural environment. In conclusion, Jan Karol Kostrzewski stated: I accept the standpoint of the premier, who has announced the government's resignation, with great recognition. I am convinced that, in this or another composition, the government will face similar problems and will have to win the most important issue for us: the race against time.

[Second correspondent] The parliamentary discussion is in progress. At the moment, deputy Edward Kowalczyk is speaking from the Sejm rostrum. That is all from our Sejm report.

Messner Speech Aired

LD2009083588 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1703 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Speech by Polish Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner to the Sejm in Warsaw on 19 September; recorded]

[Text] Citizen Speaker, Citizen Deputies: Today the Sejm will assess the implementation of reform and, against this background, the government's activity and achievements and the phenomena and processes which have affected its work and resulted from it. Social disquiet has not just increased strong criticism of the government. First of all, it disclosed the seriousness of the illness and the possibility of another crisis. How do we remove the causes permanently and thus ensure harmonious development in Poland? This question is topical once again.

Essentially the subject of the debate is a dilemma: Will we rise to consideration, firmness, perseverance? Or, as in some periods of our history, will internal discord and quarrels overshadow the long-term interest of the state? Therefore, today's session of the Sejm is very important. It is precisely here, where the good of the republic is written into every deputy's mandate, that fundamental reasons, sober assessments, and objective premises must win.

A sharp struggle is being waged. Accusations and demands for bearing the consequences for an unsuccessful policy from society's point of view are multiplying. The role and responsibility of political, social, and state institutions are being stressed within the general system of exercising power and considering the possibility of broadening the governing base. Such discussion is necessary and useful. However, it must take place in a constructive social climate and on a recognized parliamentary platform.

More and more the question is asked: What is it all about? Is it about a broader formula for national accord? The standing and identity of trade unions? Strengthening of political and state institutions? Satisfaction of group or personal political ambitions?

Being accountable before the Sejm for implementing tasks assigned to the government, I only wish to indicate what it should be all about. It should be about respect and observance of vital interests of the nation and the state, and being guided by these interests in everything we do. These are not rhetorical expressions. This year's August strikes brought losses to Poland amounting to over Z50 billion and tens of millions of dollars. For various reasons, the real costs of strikes have been much higher. It is for these that we are now paying through an escalation of demands and a further unsettling of the market, a loss of standing by leading cadres, and disrespect for the law.

We have again become a symbol of anarchy for the world. One of LE MONDE'S journalists in describing the chaos and disintegration of social bonds in one Asian state called it the Polish Asia. That is how we are seen. That is how the views about our place in Europe and the world are formed.

We did not resort to radical measures in order to stop the strikes for two reasons. First, it is possible to forcibly remove external symptoms of a crisis, but it is not possible to remove all the causes. Second, the source of conflicts is not solely conscious and purposeful political activity. A significant cause of them are the numerous and painful troubles of everyday life. However, political methods of relieving tensions cannot mean tolerance for lawlessness. The government unequivocally supports fully upholding the law and holding those who break the law accountable. In no circumstances can the law become the object of political manipulation.

The prospect of a roundtable has given rise to great hope, but also perplexity, by society. If it results in a chance that various social stands and views are reflected in official institutions, then we may achieve wider support for reform and an acceptance of the unavoidable costs. The point is that even with what are at times basic differences in views and interests, the intensity of quarrels should not, against common sense, block progressive transformations.

The fundamental question is: Do we have sufficient imagination to anticipate the price which the Poles will have to pay for a lack of imagination and whether all the participants and partners are sufficiently aware of the meaning of this question?

There is also another aspect of the present events. For many years, the authorities have appeared as a monolith, which only after a period of time revealed personnel conflicts. That was an incorrect picture. It is obvious that in the structures of authority there exist, as in all of society, conflicts of interests and differences in opinions on a whole array of issues. I do not think it is necessary to hide these. The essence of the matter is that it is not enough to bring them out into the open, they have to be overcome not for the sake of regional, sectoral, or group reasons, but those of society in general. Where ever the government succeeded in enforcing these superior reasons, it can present inarguable achievments. We experienced failure when we yielded to pressure, when by seemingly pleasing everyone no one was really pleased.

Compromise as a method of government cannot mean the avoidance of choices which require bold and frequently painful decisions. It is precisely these compromises in the economy which are the sources of the weakening of efficient economic management, of insufficient pressure on the so-called economization and the neglect of the rules of the game.

There is also a third aspect. Statements calling on the government to resign are being widely circulated. The downfall of a cabinet so well known in many countries of the world is not in itself shocking. However, you must be aware of the fact that overthrowing the government does not replace attaining social and economic aims. Governments go, problems remain.

Citizen Deputies, the Council of Ministers listened attentively to the views and conclusions of the extraordinary commission. I am convinced that the commission's work has contributed to the constructive surmounting of contradictions which have appeared. This democratic form of assessment is an undoubted achievment of socialist reforms. I am sure that the future will judge it likewise. The government attaches particular importance to the commission's position. In the past, this was always done after the departure of this or that leadership body, and assessments were always negative. It is so easy to blame those absent for the existing state of affairs, particularly when constitutional responsibility rests with them. It is also necessary to separate those phenomena and processess that have arisen for objective reasons from those that result from errors in forming the ideas and from implementation infringements.

The government does not question the weaknesses of our economy as shown by the commission, such as inflation, investment structure, or excessive monopolization. The majority of these have been accumulating for decades; others, previously artificially suppressed, have appeared with their full gravity only in recent years. The economic reform is an attempt to overcome them comprehensively, particularly its second stage which was initiated by the decisions of the 10th PZPR Congress.

The formation of the implementation program of the second stage was preceded by a broad public discussion. It obtained the approval of the PZPR Central Committee and of the leading allied bodies. The Sejm approved it in its resolution of 11 February this year.

The start of the introduction of the program meant a great opportunity but also a considerable increase in the magnitude of the risk, which the government took although it fully realized what is involved.

We have already stressed on numerous occasions that the scheduled for mutually linked tasks will take 3 years, and that the first period will be particularly difficult. However, I would like to point out that the program is being implemented according to the announced schedule. Today, after a few months of implementation, every sober analysis of the state of the economy needs to be seen through the prism of the aims of the reform. Otherwise, current burdens will overshadow the sense of the undertaken ventures. The general aim of the government's policy was to create foundations of a modern economy, subjected to the demands of economic laws.

What did we consider most important for the implementation of this objective? The development of enterprise and economic initiatives were seen as indispensable conditions for increased supply, opening up cooperation abroad, making incomes and prices more realistic, restructuring the economy, and, finally, reconstructing the system of management in the economy and in the state. In each of these fields, numerous actions have been undertaken, though they differ in intensity. But the rate of transformations depends not only on the efficiency of governing. It is being consciously influenced by efforts to reduce social costs as much as possible. It is also being burdened by the economic model which has been shaped over many years. In this situation the results of reforming up to this time can neither be easily seen, nor bring perceptible improvement more quickly. In three of the above-mentioned fields they are in accordance with aims and expectations.

Work has been completed, or is considerably advanced on legal and economic instruments for developing enterprise. Speeding up the formation of new economic or innovation and applications units can be clearly seen. The speedier development of production and efficiency initiatives is being limited by the present financial system. But we must clearly say that it is directly descended from the redistributive function of the state budget which has been strongly developed for decades.

Restructuring of the financial system is now in progress. In particular, we have provisions for a comprehensive tax reform. In the future an important stimulus for the development of enterprise and forcing efficiency will be a capital market which will make the free flow of resources between economic units possible.

Formal and legal barriers are being removed, albeit too slowly in the public's opinion. This process was accelerated by the recent government decisions. The majority of regulations breaking initiative and economic activity will lose their legal powers by the end of the year. We have done much to open our economy to the world. In the last 2 years quite simply a qualitative acceleration of exports has occured, including those for hard currency. It is sufficient to recall that not so long ago revenue at a level of $8 billion annually seemed to be beyond our reach. This in no way means that all our problems have been solved.

We are weighed down by the burden of debts although for years we have not raised any new credits. The increase in the debt results from the accumulation of interest charges and changes in currency exchange rates. Putting a stop to its growth, as well as moving in the perspective of the nineties to paying off the debts, requires a permanent broadening of foreign economic cooperation. In relations with socialist states we are increasingly more frequently undertaking joint economic and scientific and technological initiatives. We belong to the most active initiators of a socialist common market.

In the wake of the progressive normalization of political relations with Western states we have advanced the reconstruction of economic contacts, although finance and credit questions continue to wait for a mutually advantageous settlement.

Against this background it should be categorically stated that opinions concerning the possibility of not servicing or of not paying off the foreign debt are quite simply irresponsible. It is true that there is an immediate conflict between the internal and external equilibrium, but without gaining the latter, modernization of the economy will always be out of the question.

The third sphere in which transformations are clearly visible is that of restructuring the system of economic and state management. The reorganization of the center which was carried out last year, resulted in the breaking down of the main obstacles of sectoral particularism as well as an intensification of decentralization and the restriction of manual control. Unfortunately, that reform was limited to the central state administration. Transformations of the environment, that is of political institutions and other state structures, cooperative and social organizations have not, in effect, taken place. They have to come about. Only then will it be possible to provide coherent management and government which are uniform in their intentions.

The process of restructuring has also not been fully completed in the central state administration. The next intentions of the government were concentrated on the creation of a cell responsible for the coherent and clear conduct of the entire economic policy and the modification of the system of control in the state in such a way that it would test efficiency and not the formal correctness of action.

Where, on the other hand, do the results depart from the assumptions? Above all, in the prices and incomes operation: Here we met with a defeat. The reasons for this have been given many times. The fact that various circumstances forced the breaking of the initial assumptions, both on the prices and on the incomes side, does not change the fact that we equally failed to appreciate the destructive force of inflation or the vindicative pressure or the psychological and social factors, in the fact that we approached this operation is too technocratic a way. Its failure worsened the state of the market, disturbed after the powerful buying spree which accompanied the referendum. Even such a significant increase in supplies as that introduced in the past months—and for some goods, it reached even several dozen percent—does not give visible results today. The results of this defeat will have a bearing on the profile of prices and incomes policy in the coming years. The conflict of social factors and economic necessity will not permit, it seems, further measures that are too radical.

One thing has again turned out to be indisputable: Whatever concept is chosen, an elementary condition for its success will be the strict execution of the adopted assumptions. From this point of view, the public and state commission being set up for prices and incomes matters should, through its composition, become, above all, the guarantor of the observance of the rules of operation that have been drawn up. Society assesses the state of the economy through the market situation: the number of goods and the possibility of buying them. Focussing criticism on the lack of money-market equilibrium is, therefore, fully justified. The deeper sources of this problem, however, should, be sought in the structure of the economy, which is still anachronistic today. The radical acceleration of its restructuring is vital also as a substitute of its kind for prices and incomes policy.

We have no illusions that the decisions to date on the division of 116 and liquidation of 27 enterprises can constitute a qualitative breakthrough in restructuring. In their very assumption the special powers were only to initiate the essential transformations. In ad hoc categories, restructuring means halting production of goods and bans on using technology which is inneffective and out of date, also the permanent shutting-down of whole plants or their parts wherever the production capability is not or cannot be properly utilized.

In other words, we are talking about limiting demand by less efficient units for better use of all production factors and as a result of increased supply of appropriate structure [as heard]. In the long-term view the success of the program of restructuring depends on shaping correct proportions in investment outlays. Published provisions of corrections to the national socioeconomic plan stress, perhaps still not sufficiently, relieving the investment program of projects which are being protractedly implemented and which are capital intensive, and as we know, this year we have made the first decisions to this end. Intensification of these changes is unavoidable, even at the expense of worsening the domestic market, a temporary reduction in exports, or temporary social tensions. It is impossible to bypass them if restructuring is indeed to achieve results.

This is the outline of the main trends in the second stage of reform 6 months after adopting the implementation program. As far as the current economic situation is concerned besides the poor state of the market and high inflation, processes in the material sphere are showing a clear growth trend. The budget implementation is also good. What then are the balance of results achieved in the second stage, and the undertakings necessary for its continuation? I think that progress achieved in this field cannot be questioned. Today we are closer than ever before to qualitatively new economic and social relations. This conviction was shared by the house, I presume, when 2 months ago it approved a report on the introduction of reform and gave the government the vote of acceptance of accounts. However, I am fully aware

that the new model is not yet working, that in addition to already undertaken and announced initiatives in some fields there is languor in others, that finally there is a deepening divergence between the real economic situation as a whole and the feelings of many citizens. I will repeat, however, what I have said several times within this chamber. It is not the first time in Poland that we are making an attempt at reform. We always saw a chance in them and we always buried it by giving way in the face of difficulties and pressure. We are in a similar situation today. If we retreat to well-known positions, if we come to believe in the demagogic slogan that a deep restructuring of the state and economy can be carried out without serious economic and social costs, we will become a part of Europe only in a geographical sense.

May it please the House. Opening the proceedings of the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, Wojciech Jaruzelski defined the changes awaiting us as a turn in the continuation. To put it briefly, the aims and strategies of the second stage of the economic reform remain fixed. A verification of the economic policy, of the methods of action, and the hierachy of undertakings are, however, imperative. Some of them will require acceleration and others a slowing down or even to be deferred until a later date. Those reevaluations will find expression in the plan for the consolidation of the national economy. Like every program of action this one will also require the fulfillment of relevant conditions. They are first, the union of all political and social forces as well as the state and economic administration. Until now there has not been such coherent and uniform action. Second, setting personnel policy on accelerating the promotion of young people. The work of the reform has been undertaken in the main by people who were molded under the previous state and economic model. Third, creating a climate of trust for those who are going to be the ones to carry out those tasks. No one will function efficiently in an atmosphere of permanently being discredited and even insulted. A demonstrative rejection of everything which is proposed by the central adminstration not only paralyzes the reforms but the whole state system. Fourth, every government should know the limits of its freedom of action, and its responsibility. Up until now there has not been such a precise division of powers. It is necessary if we are really thinking of a deep transformation of the socialist formation of system of government.

Citizen Deputies, Citizen Speaker, a government which undertakes the implementation of crucial socioeconomc tasks must function without any encumbrances. It must have a credit of confidence. Being guided by the supreme interest of the state, and with the intension of making it easier for the Sejm to make proper decisions in the existing situation, I submit to the chamber the resignation of the Council of Ministers. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Deputy Criticizes PZPR

LD1909222788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1610 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Speech by Deputy Mikolaj Kozakiewicz at the 19 September Sejm session in Warsaw—recorded]

[Excerpts] I will start my evaluation of the current economic situation in Poland and the activity of the present government with a few quotes which come from ancient history, not because I like them but because of their striking, even depressing, topicality, which proves that certain permanent and unchanging qualities exist in the Polish mind and social practice that have cost Poland very dearly several times already. [passage omitted]

In this room today we have heard many accusations against the government of Premier Zbigniew Messner. From OPZZ we heard a demand directed at the Sejm a few days ago to abolish the government. The extraordinary commission's evaluation was also severe. However, I personally hesitate to place the burden of full responsibility on Premier Messner's government. I think the government is responsible to the same extent to which it was free to make decisions, and to the extent to which it was negligent through failing to act or making errors in taking advantage of existing possibilities to improve the situation.

The extent of responsibility cannot be greater than the extent of freedom of action, freedom of choice, and freedom to decide. I state loudly what everyone has known for ages: in the political system that existed until now the government was not and is not fully independent.

How many times we have heard here, from this Sejm rostrum, the following formula uttered by the premier and the ministers: Following the Politburo's decision the government did this or that, or: In accordance with the Central Committee resolution, the minister has ordered; and so on? Such a direct subordination of the government to the political leadership of just one party, despite the official existence of the coalition of three parties, was an evident contradiction of the coalitional character of governing and proof that the government was limited to merely carrying out orders.

This practice, which is contrary to the principle of equality of partners in a coalition, was for instance reflected in instruction No. 22 issued by the Council of Ministers chairman on 30 October 1987. Concerning the duties of government Presidium members it states, I quote: They implement the resolutions of the supreme PZPR authorities and only, I quote again, consider the recommendations of the supreme authorities of ZSL and SD. Citizen deputies, this is not just a difference of style. [applause] This is a reflection of the different significance and status of the PZPR and the other parties. This system, which has its roots in the Stalinist era, which is criticized so heavily nowadays, also narrowed the Sejm's

constitutional rights. It limited in practice its functions and lowered its rank because the most important and really decisive debates went on and the decisions were made outside the Sejm.

In today's socialist system the workers' party still has a special role, the leading role, and only the blind cannot see this. But the point is that it is not possible to radically reform the economy and the social system without equally radically changing the ways this leading role, as laid down in the Constitution, is played in practice.

In spite of appearances, such a change would not mean a weakening of the socialist system in Poland; it would strengthen it. It is essential to carry out such a change not just because of past experiences but also because of future intentions. Recently Deputy Jozef Czyrek spoke about the idea of creating a government of national trust and the third plenum of the ZSL Supreme Committee indicated the need to create a broad national coalition government. If these proposals are to be treated seriously they will require a change in the methods of implementing in economic and political practice the party's leading role.

Maintaining the current situation, in which the state apparatus is overshadowed by the political apparatus of one party, and the clear hegemony of its political apparatus, would obviate the idea to create such a government even before the first step was taken in this direction.

Apart from these reservations about this general type of political system, there are also many pragmatic reasons against quickly and totally changing the government right now. The selection of the new cabinet members must be carried out carefully. In this critical and unclear economic and social situation it would be very difficult to convince a competent and responsible candidate to take on a ministerial post. Apart from this, the exceptionally tense social situation, caused by the economic situation, demands that the government take instant and energetic corrective actions. The newly appointed ministers would need several months to get to know their ministries and their missions. Finally, before the roundtable's work is finished it is difficult to envisage who should be in the government and how it should be administered to correspond to the demands of the agreement reached. After all, the government should not be changed every few months.

Taking all this into consideration, with so many unknown factors, I do not think an immediate and total change of government have any kind of positive result besides dubious propaganda and psychological effects.

Today the communists who wish to finally overcome the burden of the relics of Stalinism often direct their thoughts toward Lenin. This could be very purposeful if they do not look to Lenin for ready made recipes but for examples of boldness and determination to introduce new solutions that no one else dared to introduce.

Have you got the courage of Lenin to start unknown work, to abolish the old and start the new? This question, asked by Stefan Zeromski [Polish epic writer] 50 years ago to a different audience, is asked today of party leaders by those Poles who are not communists. What is more, history itself is asking this question.

When speaking of public matters it is impossible not to draw the Sejm's attention to the subject of the roundtable. I do not know a lot about it yet but from this lofty rostrum it is necessary to state that the decision to propose such a roundtable is the first manifestation of this new courage, on which everything depends. To agree to this took a lot of courage, and all sides who sit at this table will need to exercise caution.

I think the roundtable participants must sit down with the awareness that they are doomed [skazani] to achieve an agreement, because if its deliberations break down it would have been better for them to never have taken place. What should the roundtable be? In no case should it become a table for a political poker game, where each of the players is trying to outbid the opponents, to frighten them by bluffing and frequently cheat by pulling out aces of their sleeves and playing with marked cards. The roundtable should be a kind of a doctors' council that deliberates jointly and agrees on actions essential to healing the seriously ill. Poland is this sick person. At this table there must be no artificial division into us and them.

Cyprian Norwid [Polish poet] said: Whenever we say the word "they" we should not forget that at the same time we are saying the word "we." No one can alienate himself so much that "they" do really not exist. There was a shortage of Norwid's wisdom in the recent years both regarding those in power and the opposition. May it be born again at the roundtable. [passage omitted]

Spokesman Urban on Resignation, Opposition Tasks

AU1909175988 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1600 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Interview with PPR Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban by ORF journalist Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi in Vienna on 19 September; Urban statements in Polish with subsequent German translation]

[Text] PPR Government Spokesman Urban is currently on a visit to Austria. He comments on the PPR Government's resignation as follows:

[Urban] Of course the resignation of the government was mainly caused by the dissatisfaction of the population with the government's economic policy. Currently we can only hope that the future government will try more

successfully to win the confidence of the population. Of course, the process of the formation of a new government will be directly linked with the roundtable talks with the constructive opposition.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] After the first of these talks, a Solidarity representative said that now the state power also recognizes that there must be a place for Solidarity in Poland in the future. What is your opinion?

[Urban] This is not quite correct. The partner in the talks who represents the state power said that we are ready to conduct talks about trade union pluralism. But we should make the overall concept, the overall solution the topic of a new power structure, because the trade unions must also be seen in this overall concept. The trade union issue must be discussed and decided within this overall framework.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] Poland has experienced many resignations of governments. Is this a special one? Will it initiate a new era in Poland?

[Urban] A resignation of this kind has never occurred before. A resignation that was caused by the statements of the trade union. This means a resignation of the government in a situation in which the deputies of the ruling party were given a completely free hand by the party leadership. What is happening now is part of the great political changes that will take place in Poland this fall. I think of the creation of various bodies in which the opposition will also be represented, and which will have the status of associations, and the announcment of changes in the power structure. This power structure should reflect a broader political spectrum. In short, our perfidious plan provides for the involvement of the opposition in responsibility. We should eliminate a situation, in which the one side bears the responsibility and the other only criticizes without making proposals and without sharing the responsibility for what happens in Poland.

Room for 'Moderate Opposition'

AU2009090188 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 20 Sep 88 p 4

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Vienna—Yesterday morning Polish Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner announced the resignation of his government to the Sejm in Warsaw. [passage omitted]

As Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban, who is currently staying in Vienna, told VOLKSSTIMME, the PZPR is looking for a broader basis for its government. The possibility cannot be excluded that the new government will include people who belong to the "moderate opposition." However, no offer has been made in this respect as yet. Concerning the future course of action, Urban explained that if the government's resignation is accepted, the PZPR, as the leading power, will nominate a new prime minister. With regard to Solidarity, it will not be legalized as a political organization or as a trade union, Urban said. In those places where Solidarity members are influential in enterprises they can participate in one way of the other in establishing enterprise trade union organizations on the basis of the existing trade union laws. But this is a subject for discussion in a subcommittee in the course of the general negotiations.

During a meeting with Jerzy Urban in the KPOe Central Committee, KPOe Chairman Franz Muhri expressed the Austrian Communists' interest in and solidarity with a positive political solution on the basis of socialism, which will also strengthen socialism.

Commentary on 16 Sep Kiszczak-Walesa Meeting

Sejm Deputy Upbeat on Talks

LD2009095288 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Our Krakow reporter requested a statement from a participant in yesterday's talks [16 September meeting between Internal Affairs Minister Kiszczak, Lech Walesa, and others] Professor Jan Janowski, rector of the Mining and Metallurgy Academy and a Sejm deputy.

[Begin recording Janowski] The most optimistic point of yesterday's meeting was that all participants saw the need for continuing the talks. This had not been certain before. We have been aware that we are discussing the most important Polish issues and are discussing subjects for which finding rapprochement, let alone a common view, will require a lot of difficult talking. It will require concessions and compromise to work out a common stand on issues which will decide our better future. I had the impression that all participants in the meeting were guided by this goal, that good will and determination to find the best solution to Polish affairs led to the decision to continue the talks. This is an optimistic fact for the immediate future. [end recording]

Czyrek Interviewed on Talks

PM2009101288 Paris LE MONDE in French 16 Sep 88 p 2

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek by Sylvie Kauffmann in Warsaw on 15 September]

[Text] Warsaw—"You talk of communism—but it is a distant prospect! You must not see everything in terms of black and white. We are learning a great deal about subtle shades of color." Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and virtual number two in the party after being foreign minister for a long time, who was looking both grave and calm, was an optimistic man on Thursday 15 September.

"I am convinced that the round table will take place," he said, less than 2 hours after the end of the second meeting between Lech Walesa and General Czeslaw

Kiszczak on Thursday at which they decided to call an extended meeting for the following day as a preliminary to the round table. "The fact that attempts have been made to set up a round table, and that Walesa and Kiszczak have met on the principle that nobody should emerge as winner or loser, is a success," Mr Czyrek said. "The fact that a very difficult psychological and political barrier for each side has been broken is also a success. A section of the grass roots on each side has reacted with the same cries, the same comments, and the same feelings."

During a 2-hour interview, this Polish leader spoke about "Solidarity," "Mr Walesa," and "Stelmachowski, my partner" (a reference to the chairman of the Catholic Intellectuals' Club, close to Solidarity, with whom he negotiated these different meetings), in terms which no Western politician would disown. At no time did Mr Czyrek use the word "extremist" which official circles used for so long to condemn the Solidarity leadership. The very day when this interview was conducted and when the Walesa-Kiszczak meeting was held, the official magazine KONFRONTACJE published for the first time a long interview with Mr Walesa in which the chairman of the banned trade union explained his views of trade union and political pluralism.

It was pointed out to Mr Czyrek several times that his remarks were similar to those of Solidarity leaders. "That is why I am optimistic about the results of the round table," he retorted.

[Kauffmann] Will Solidarity as such really be represented at that round table?

[Czyrek] If I say yes, I am breaking the law, because it is an illegal organization. But there is a 'Solidarity current' in the framework of various trade union currents. There are Solidarity supporters.

[Kauffmann] Is that not recognition of the movement's de facto existence?

[Czyrek] I have my feet on the ground, not my head in the clouds. As a politician, I cannot refuse to see what is happening, I will not bury my head in the sand.

[Kauffmann] But, when the government negotiates with Lech Walesa, in what capacity does it do so?

[Czyrek] It negotiates with him as Mr Walesa. Every man, irrespective of the position he holds, has a value, an influence, an authority, and a past." [Czyrek ends]

It will take "2 or 3 weeks" to prepare for the famous round table, Mr Czyrek thinks. "It will have to be representative, but it must not turn into a rally," he said. The number of participants will therefore have to be limited "without distorting political pluralism." The church will have to play a full part and not just act as an observer. Decisions will be adopted by consensus and not by a vote.

The Solidarity leadership has made it known many times that, before sitting down at a round table, it intends to obtain a declaration of intent from the government on the legalization of the movement. On this point, Mr Czyrek took care not to reveal the government's actual intentions, while maintaining sufficient room to maneuver to avoid giving the impression of closing the door. "The essential problems of the Polish model, the political, economic, and social system, will be discussed," he said. "These subjects obviously include trade union pluralism. But we are opposed to making a single subject determine the overall analysis of the Polish restructuring program."

Everything obviously depends on what is meant by pluralism, and Mr Czyrek admits that this is a crucial question. The government prefers to talk of "socialist pluralism." But, this expression, Mr Czyrek said, "does not refer to political or ideological content." "It simply means that there is pluralism in socialist Poland. Pluralism means diversity. The difference between the universal concept of pluralism and our concept is not the content, but the rules of the game. That is why we use the expressions "confrontation pluralism" and "socialist pluralism" or "pluralism based on the principles of dialogue and accord."

Moreover, Mr Czyrek, who was born in Germany and was formerly ambassador to Bonn, sees in the FRG's constitutional experience an "interesting" example "in the context of Solidarity," namely the dissolution of the KPD, the German Communist Party, which was regarded as unconstitutional and which was legalized several years later under a different name—the DKP. "You see," he remarked, "other countries have had the same dilemmas. The way in which they have solved them can teach us a great deal."

But, take care, "there must be no misunderstanding: By that I mean that there can be no simple return by Solidarity, no simple registration of Solidarity under the terms of existing legislation on the trade unions." "Solidarity," as we knew it until 1982, acted as a social movement rather than a trade union and was therefore a de facto political party in its structure and its activities. This does not mean that there is no Polish model for the development of trade union power. But the Solidarity trade union movement cannot return to being the former political movement. An adequate forum is required for political problems—a parliament, the press, clubs, associations, discussions. But, within the enterprises, the trade unions should not be a platform for political demands." This is largely what Professor Geremek, Solidarity's adviser, said in a recent interview to LE MONDE. "We will have structures for political activities," Mr Czyrek continued. "We will examine that with

Walesa or Geremek, when they are deputies." In saying that with a smile, Mr Czyrek was expressing the Polish government's great dream since the dissolution of Solidarity: to draw Lech Walesa into the official institutions. This remark would, therefore, tend to confirm the fears of several opposition leaders, who see the round table as a means of drowning the demand for an independent trade union in a mass of institutional reforms.

Maintaining the ambiguity about trade union pluralism, Mr Czyrek added: "There are several models for pluralism. There is the Franco-Italian model, and there is the Austrian-German model with a single trade union in the enterprise but which has a pluralist nature. When I think about the Polish model, I think more of taking advantage of the Austrian-German model. I think that we must seek ideas here which satisfy the different trade union movements." But, although Mr Czyrek spoke readily about West German trade unions, it was impossible to make him say yes specifically to having several trade unions, including Solidarity, in Polish enterprises.

Despite that, he is still confident about the future of the negotiations. "If the two sides are guided in this dialogue by a sense of responsibility for Poland, its future, its development, and its international position, I am convinced that we ought to agree and that we can agree." And Mr Czyrek concluded: "Lech Walesa said that we had all changed over the past few years. He is right."

PEN-Club Reassembles; Elects Chairman

LD1909204388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] After a break of Nearly 7 years, members of the Polish Authors and Composers Association, PEN Club, met today in Warsaw, at a general assembly, which is the highest authority of the association. Here is our reporter, Krystyna Koziol, who, like other journalists, could participate only in the initial part of the proceedings:

[Koziol] The PEN-Club General Assembly began its proceedings after 1600. Well over 100 of its members were to be found in the hall. The opening of the proceedings was conducted by the chairman of the board, Which was suspended in December 1981 and dissolved in August 1983, Juliusz Zulawski:

[Begin Zulawski recording] Recently, following my positive talks with the minister of culture and the arts, I received a letter from the city mayor, informing me of the authorities, agreement to calling a general assembly by me, to conduct normal, statutory elections to the new board of the Polish PEN-Club. Despite the fact that this agreement did not encompass the reactivation, which is what we were demanding, of the statutorily-elected board which had been dissolved half-way through its term of office, but only gave a mandate to me personally, nevertheless, I agreed to this, so that we would be able to achieve the main aim. This aim was to hold statutory, normal elections, without any other conditions, and in this way, to mobilize our association.

We are all currently facing the real possibility of fundamental and universally favorable changes in the structure of public life. So let today's assembly proceed in a deeply considered and responsible manner, opening the road to truly dignified activity, as up to now in accordance with our charter. [End Recording]

[Koziol] Next, a list of over 60 names of members of the PEN-Club, who had died in recent years was (read out?) Professor Jacek (Wozniakowski) was chosen as chairman of the proceedings.

Juliusz Zulawski read a dispatch from the British PEN-Club, and a report on the activity of the board over the period 14 November 1980 to 16 December 1981 was given. Undoubtedly, the most important point of the proceedings will be elections of new authorities of the PEN-Club. [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 2000 GMT on 19 September 1988 Adds the following:

"The Polish PEN-Club has renewed its activities, after a break of several years, with a general assembly of members. An 18-member board has been elected. Juliusz Zulawski was elected chairman of the PEN-Club, while the deputy chairmen are Artur (Miedzyrzecki) and Egon (Naganowski)."]

Jerzy Urban's 13 Sep Press Conference

AU1609161388 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Sep 88 pp 1, 5, 6

[Transcript of Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban's press conference for domestic and foreign journalists at the Warsaw INTERPRESS Center on 12 September]

[Text] J. Urban: In agreement with General Czeslaw Kiszczak, chairman of the Committee for Observing Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline, I declare:

New meetings of various informal bodies were held on the premises of the St. Brygida Parish in Gdansk on 10 and 11 September. These bodies adopted resolutions on what their position should be in the roundtable talks with the authorities. For example, on 11 September a resolution was adopted to the effect that participants in the St. Brygida Parish meeting should demand that before talks with the authorities can begin, Solidarity should be legalized and that "unqualified pluralism" should be introduced at once. On 10 September, another body of former Solidarity activists and advisors decided that the reinstatement of Solidarity in line with its 1980 registration and with the same statute and structure should be a condition for accord and that this condition should be stated by Lech Walesa in coming talks. Another body decided that if the authorities refuse to accept that initial condition, activists will regard talks as broken off by the authorities.

A REUTER report on 11 September cites the statements made during those meetings, at which it was said that the faits accomplis should be quickly created and that new strikes should be threatened. The meetings expressed fears that Lech Walesa is too prone to make compromises. REUTER stressed that the meetings agreed that the legalization of Solidarity should be the initial condition for any accord whatsoever with the authorities and that strikes should be proclaimed, if this condition is not met.

Other similar statements were also made for use by the Western media. For example, according to LE MONDE of 8 September, Jacek Kuron said: "It is obvious that if workers do not obtain satisfaction on Solidarity, a new wave of strikes will follow and then still another one and another one...." When it was observed that the legalization of that trade union would no doubt mean the end of communism in Poland, that individual, who was most often put behind bars, said smilingly: "Yes, perhaps. But if that legalization is not effected, the end will come even more quickly. Well, if this is so...."

Large sections of the public are at least surprised and disturbed by those resolutions and statements.

General C. Kiszczak's talks with Walesa, which took place in the presence of Bishop Jerzy Dabrowski and Stanislaw Ciosek, were conducted on the basis of the general's familiar statement that we are ready for talks without any initial conditions. During the talks in question, the same principle and the declaration that no issue would be considered "taboo" were adopted for preparatory talks in connection with the roundtable talks, and for the roundtable talks themselves. However, even before those talks can take place, the mutually adopted principles are already being undermined. Attempts are being made to create the accomplished facts, strikes are being threatened, and the position of "all or nothing at all" is being taken, a position against which General Jaruzelski issued a warning at the eighth party plenum.

It is unfortunate that such methods of pressure and aversion to compromises remind us of the conduct of most Solidarity leading activists in the fall of 1981. Their conduct deeply split our people, worker communities, and even families. It threatened the disintegration of the state and the total ruin of the economy. All that was reason for martial law, but it is now obvious that some of the former Solidarity activists have learned nothing, and this makes it doubtful whether some of our potential partners in the roundtable meeting really want to engage in dialogue.

Past events have often demonstrated that political extremism and ultimatums are ineffective, especially in the long run, and that if one wants to win everything, one may lose everything.

It is necessary to create an atmosphere for talks, the condition for which should be realism, moderation, and respect for our legal order— the credibility of partners.

Let us hope that the people who hold extremist views will not be able to torpedo the roundtable talks and once again to waste a historic chance to achieve accord, which is what a decisive majority of our people want, including those forces whose duty is to ensure the stability of our socialist state.

It will be impossible to achieve accord on the strength of the St. Brygida decisions. And we need this accord so much in order to promote profound political and economic reforms, to conduct constructive discussions about a model of trade unions, and to improve people's standards. It is impossible to produce prosperity by shouting and striking. This statement is both an appeal and a caution.

Another matter. Investigations into the death of Lieutenant Mieczyslaw Turbakiewicz of the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs are being assisted by a special group set up by the minister of internal affairs. It has been ascertained that the claims of some people that Turbakiewicz committed suicide are becoming less and less probable.

Various circumstances indicate that Lt Turbakiewicz was probably shot either as a result of a scuffle when some 10 workers of the Stalowa foundry, who participated in an illegal strike, were escorting him out of the foundry, or as a result of premeditated intent to shoot him.

There was no motive for suicide, which was improbable in the situation in which the shot was fired.

The lieutenant left a wife and a 10-year old son, who are in great despair. Nor did he have any health or job troubles.

The fact that the bullet was fired at a spot behind the ear is not typical in suicide.

Nor was the shot fired because the lieutenant was careless in handling his gun. He was an experienced militia officer, one who knew his guns inside and out and who represented his voivodship in various shooting competitions.

Turbakiewicz was on duty in the Stalowa Wola foundry on that critical day and, like other militia men, was on patrol in order to ensure law and order in the vast foundry area, which includes armament shops. He did such duty previously and, in line with the regulations in force, also carried a gun.

As the prosecutor's communique stated, he was sober at the time.

The shooting of Turbakiewicz took place soon after four other militia functionaries had been escorted out of the foundry by the so-called order-keeping strike guards. Medical examinations revealed a number of bruises and abrasions, which could have been a result of injuries. One eyewitness said that just before the shot was fired he saw about 10 men grouped on the road where Turbakiewicz stood. "Their arms were flailing in the air as if they were dealing out blows." That witness said that "clearly a scuffle and, at times, kicking could seen."

Three voluntary witnesses, who reported to the safety inspector, stated in their depositions that when the lieutenant was being escorted out of the foundry he was calm, but that at one moment he took a gun out of his breast pocket and fired it at his head. So far none of the almost 70 witnesses has confirmed this version.

Investigating officers ask the people who saw the shooting and witnessed events before it to come forward. To get at the truth, it is necessary to gather evidence from a larger number of people than is the case at present.

Investigations, most of which are attended by prosecutors, involve various examinations, experiments, and expertises. For the benefit of investigations, it is as yet impossible to provide more accurate information about present findings.

Let me also state that, for example, on 8 September, Radio Free Europe reported that the strike committee had stated that sleuths were on duty in the foundry and that their task was to spy on the work force. Since sleuths are generally disliked, workers demand that such unlawful forms of pressure and control should be eliminated. During the strikes rows continued to take place between workers and sleuths, especially when they tried to smuggle alcohol into the foundry.... The strike committee stressed that M. Turbakiewicz had a gun in his breast pocket directed upward and with the safety catch off. Probably a bullet was fired by accident, penetrated the chin, and left the skull at the back of it. In view of this, the committee protested against accusing the strikers of killing that militiaman.

These people are amateur detectives, who are clearly intent on disclaiming penal or moral responsibility. They carry out some homespun investigations and adduce false data. The truth is that the bullet entered the head at the back of it and not through the chin.

Now let me read to you a letter I have sent today to Mr Gene Pell, chairman of Radio Free Europe in Munich.

Esteemed Mr Chairman, on 21 June I publicly proposed that I visit Radio Free Europe to have a discussion with the personnel of the Polish section in order to present our views on the programmatic line of the radio you are in charge of. I also proposed that leaders of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe and a group of journalists should come to Warsaw at the invitation of the management and journalists of Polish Radio Program V, in order to have a discussion to be broadcast by Polish Radio.

In your letter of 23 June you expressed your willingness to have a constructive discussion and proposed to hold a live discussion and a meeting with the managements of the two radio stations and with the employees of the Polish radio station. You proposed that the oppositionists in Poland should participate by telephone and you asked me to confirm that I wish to travel to Munich, upon which commitment the necessary arrangements would be made for my visit and for the return visit of the personnel of the Radio Free Europe Polish section to Warsaw.

Already on 21 June at 2000 Radio Free Europe published the following communique, which I quote in full:

"Gene Pell, chairman of Radio Free Europe and Radio Svoboda, has accepted the proposal made by Jerzy Urban, the press spokesman for the PPR Government, that he travel to Munich to discuss the role of Radio Free Europe against the background of the Polish situation. Urban made that proposal at his Warsaw press conference today, saying that if Radio Free Europe is not afraid of having a discussion with him, he is ready to travel to Munich.

"In his reply Chairman Pell acknowledged his great interest and pleasure in Urban's readiness to participate in a radio discussion with Radio Free Europe employees in Munich.

"Pell has promised to send a formal invitation to Urban tomorrow.

"In Munich," the statement continued, "Urban will be able to participate in a free, uncensored, and unprejudiced discussion in line with Radio Free Europe traditions."

On 20 July I thanked you, Mr Pell, for your agreement to my proposals and expressed my readiness to meet also with the Radio Free Europe leaders.

As for the Polish oppositionists' participation in the meeting, I said that Radio Free Europe may invite and count among its employees just anyone, but that I was against participation in discussion by telephone. I proposed that my discussion with the Polish section personnel in Munich should be recorded by Polish Television and Radio as well as by Polish pressmen. I also proposed that FRG and other foreign pressmen should be invited and I agreed that the return visit to Warsaw should take place after the Munich visit.

Later the FRG Government proposed that I combine my private visit to the U.S. radio station in Munich with an official visit to the FRG. I was pleased to accept that proposal.

On 11 August you replied to my July letter. Despite your previous public declarations, expressions of pleasure, and earlier invitation, you have actually rejected the previously discussed proposal, which was approved by you, that I visit Radio Free Europe in order to hold a public discussion with the Polish personnel.

It is true that you propose that I come to Munich on 9 September, but you refuse to admit me at all into the Radio Free Europe premises. You suggest that I should have only a private meeting with you and with members of your station's administration somewhere in the city of Munich. You suggest that instead of meeting with the personnel of the Polish section, I should participate in a Radio Free Europe program to be recorded outside of your radio station. This would be a recorded discussion with three members of the opposition invited from Poland, and a Radio Free Europe journalist would act as chairman.

You write that I have wrongly interpreted your previous invitation and that it was a foregone conclusion that Radio Free Europe would be unable to accept my proposals. For example, you write that having the discussion recorded by Polish Television, Radio, and pressmen would turn into a circus. You also disapprove of the fact that I made my proposal in public and you reject, albeit not completely, the idea that leaders and employees of the Polish section in Munich should come to Warsaw. You say that in such a case the invitation would have to be sent by a different Polish Radio program, that the subject of the discussion would have to be different, and that you require a guarantee that the possible Warsaw discussion would be broadcast by the Polish Radio all-national program.

Of course, all this could be a subject of negotiations, but I must remind you that you list conditions to be fulfilled by Polish Radio, which, as is obvious from another statement in the same letter, you did not want to let record my aborted discussion with the personnel of the Radio Free Europe Polish section. It is therefore with regret and astonishment that I conclude that you, Mr Chairman, have completely changed your previous position—which was publicized by your radio station—vis-a-vis my proposal, have canceled the invitation for my visit to Radio Free Europe, and have made impossible a discussion with the Polish personnel of your radio station.

Your counterproposals are merely a very feeble camouflage for your refusal.

The only sense and purpose of my trip to Munich was to hold a public discussion with the Radio Free Europe Polish personnel and a direct and free confrontation of views.

There is no justification for my coming to far-off Munich in order to have a discussion with three Polish citizens, who hold oppositionist views, and to be able to use only Radio Free Europe broadcasting equipment. If I wished to have such discussion and if the candidates for it would be ready to participate, it would be very easy to record it anywhere in Warsaw, in a Polish Radio studio, for example.

In view of all that, I declare that Radio Free Europe is afraid of and avoids public discussion. Radio Free Europe's fear of and aversion to dialogue and to confrontation of views are clothed in fine statements about freedom of speech and about wishing to exchange views in a free and open way. Radio Free Europe asserts that it represents the free world and that we put shackles on the circulation of ideas. But it is the facts and not verbal declarations that attest to the true openness and freedom of the U.S. radio station in Munich.

However, if Radio Free Europe wants to risk a free exchange of views with the spokesman for the Polish Government, who it aggressively criticizes for everything for some hours each day, but who it is afraid to let speak out, I am always ready to go to Munich to meet the personnel of the Radio Free Europe Polish Section.

I allow myself to send a copy of this letter to Mr Charles Wick, head of the Information Agency of the United States. Let me explain why.

Mr Wick visited Poland this year, and I was able to listen to his praises of the U.S. system of information based on freedom of speech, a free confrontation of views, an untrammeled circulation of information, objectiveness, and other qualities. We discussed ways of achieving greater openness and honesty in mutual relations in the field of information. My proposal to hold a public discussion with the Polish personnel of Radio Free Europe was born under the impact of those talks. That is why I wish to inform Mr Wick that practicing what one preaches is sometimes more difficult than preaching itself.

I hope that the leadership of Radio Free Europe will cease to be afraid of free discussions and will renew its invitation. In any case, my offer to go to Munich is still on.

Sincerely,

Signed: Jerzy Urban.

I have received a report from the deputy voivoda of Tarnow Voivodship that rumors are circulating among the people of the voivodship that our currency is to be

stamped or replaced in order to reduce inflation. Since I have been asked to take an official stand on those rumors, let me publicly state once again that they are completely groundless, that they are just rumors, that nothing of the kind is being contemplated, and that nothing of the kind will take place.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: I would like to refer to what you said before about the "Solidarity" meetings in Gdansk. I wish to tell you that REUTER did not say anything about any preconditions for the talks with the government. Nor did REUTER say anything about attempts to establish faits accomplis. So why is the good name of REUTER being associated with some odd reports from this country?

Urban: Sir, I was quoting from a REUTER dispatch, translated into Polish and supplied by PAP. I did not refer entirely to REUTER. I mainly referred to the documents that were adopted at the Church of St. Brygida and then published. But I did quote from REUTER on the subject of certain speeches. I am not questioning the truth of these reports, so in no way am I spoiling the good name of REUTER. But the matter has to be explained, because perhaps PAP made an error and attributed to REUTER what had been written by another news agency. Please sort this matter out and give the gentleman from REUTER the entire report that PAP sent us.

I have never encountered an error by PAP before.

Tarnowski: Excuse me, but the last two sentences have been mistranslated. My colleague will translate them into Polish himself. I cannot understand why REUTER is being associated with reports like this. Please do not use REUTER's name and reputation in order to convey false information about the Polish political situation.

Urban: I understand. I have heard all these remarks and given a reply.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: Do the Polish authorities include Lech Walesa among the extremists you talked about in your statement on the subject of the Gdansk talks?

Urban: We do not know. That depends on his attitude during the talks.

Kay Withers, BALTIMORE SUN: Can you confirm whether the meeting between Lech Walesa and General Kiszczak will take place this week? If so, when?

Urban: These talks are still being prepared.

Waldemar Janiec, PAP Foreign Service: Some students put forth various demands last spring. What reply will they receive when they return to college?

Urban: A favorable one, I think. In accordance with the resolution of the Eighth Central Committee Plenum, concrete decisions have already been taken in order to make colleges self-managing to a greater degree. Students will have greater possibilities of independent academic and social activity. They will have greater freedom of association.

This calls for changes to legislation, so that there may be greater legal support for the training by self-managing colleges of people who are educated for the needs of a pluralistic society in socialist Poland. Thus, the changes in higher education will be a logical consequence of the changes that will occur throughout the country. Tomorrow there is a conference of college principals and college party committee secretaries, at which this topic will be the main one.

But in order to give a more precise answer, it has been decided to give college principals new powers which only the ministers in charge of higher education have held so far. As a result, principals will now have the authority to approve curricula. They will also have the power to set up specialized fields in education. The restrictions imposed on the number of people using correspondence schools may also be lifted. The principals will be able to approve the regulations adopted by student self-managements and determine the nature and duration of practical student work.

As far as student affairs are concerned, a series of decisions have been made which meet the student community's expectations halfway. Above all, the social and material conditions of students will improve. The principles governing state material assistance for students will change. The basis on which student social grants are calculated will be raised. The obligatory minimum grant of Z14,000 will also increase, but I do not know by how much. Other student benefits will also increase accordingly. The basis on which to calculate student grants will increase in line with costs of living. All these actions will considerably increase the number of students entitled to a grant.

Work on a new system of grants that takes the economic reform into account has been started. For example, bank loans will be available in order to finance studies.

There will be fundamental changes made to the functioning of student self-management bodies. These will have greater influence on decisions by college authorities on the subject of student affairs. It is expected that students will enjoy a greater presence among college governing bodies.

Expanding the functions of student self-management bodies means the right to decide or co-decide on social and educational affairs. The self-management bodies will also be able to conduct commercial activity via specialized agencies. The new rules will give students complete responsibility for student dormitories. They

will be able to supervise repairs and even assume the entire burden of administration. The central funds released in this way will be placed at the disposal of students.

We expect that students will be more interested in playing the role of managers over their colleges.

The draft legislation concerning student self-management is complete and may be introduced as of 1 October. However, we do want to give students the chance to voice their opinions about these changes, therefore we suggest consultations with students in early October. The colleges themselves should decide on many other matters concerning the student self-management bodies, for example what kind of powers a college principal should give to the student self-management in his college.

New solutions and propositions permitting greater possibilities for students' associations have been prepared. This should permit the positive settlement of most proposals to set up new student organizations whose programs do not clash with the PPR Constitution, in other words it should lead to the registration of most of these new student bodies. There are 11 such proposals. Thus, new student organizations will be registered provided that their statutes conform to constitutional principles and their objectives are in line with the academic sphere.

Various kinds of student sports and artistic societies may be formed. Principals will be able to register them in accordance with the law on higher education.

Together, all this creates far greater possibilities for students to speak out on the subject of their vital interests and, more importantly, actually take part in implementing them.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: I believe that the prerequisite for a compromise is that each party taking part in talks formulates its own standpoint. Solidarity has done so, and has expressed its interests. For this, instead of saying what it wants itself, the government accuses Solidarity of exerting pressure on the talks and imposing preconditions. I cannot believe that the government really wants a compromise unless it announces its own objectives.

Urban: You do not quite understand the situation. I have already said that it is natural for each party at the roundtable, and there are many of them, to make its standpoint public before the talks begin. However, and I have already said this today, it was agreed during the meeting between General Kiszczak and Lech Walesa that the roundtable would take place without any preconditions and restrictions on the subject-matter. So I have already reacted today against the imposition of preconditions, a violation of the cardinal rule of the talks.

It is not true that the authorities have not presented their own standpoint. We are the only ones who have presented it precisely, unequivocally, and exhaustively. It has already been presented in successive Central Committee plenums, in other words the sixth, seventh, and eighth plenums. The standpoint presented at the eighth plenum is the most up-to-date one. However, to make things clear, I will summarize our stance.

We realize that the methods of exercising authority and patterns of social relations in existence so far have outlived their usefulness. Now we are aiming toward state and social relations based on pluralism. However, this pluralism does not eradicate the system in which we live, but transforms and improves it. Therefore, we call it socialist pluralism.

Our concept and entire philosophy call for a gradual, not sudden, transformation of relations because the frequent sudden attempts to transform relations in the past, and I do not mean just 1981, led to results that were contrary to the ones expected. Quite simply, sudden attempts at change give rise to opposing forces and lead to confrontation instead of accord.

We want Polish society, which has been an arena of various conflicts and disasters during the past 200 years, to experience this change in public life and in the system of authority as calmly as possible and in a spirit of accord.

What is it that we are proposing today as the next step along the path of changes in Poland, along which everyone must admit we have come a long way over the past 7 years?

First, we propose a pluralism of associations. We propose that various political forces begin to function in the public light in the form of an association. This applies to all the forces that are ready to respect the basic provisions of the Constitution and principles of evolution, and whose aim is to improve relations in Poland, not destroy everything by means of a violent upheaval. Further, we propose a development of associations. Of course we do not mean associations of gardeners or breeders, but political associations. These associations would experience an evolution which might give many of them an increasingly higher status.

Let me recall that the status of an association is held by PAX. PAX is a participant in authority and an organization that formulates its own political standpoint and influences the government process. Thus, PAX also enjoys the status of an association.

Furthermore, we propose expanding the base of government and creating an even broader ruling coalition. The ways of doing so presently under discussion include creating a second chamber in the Sejm, whose political structure would be different than that of the original chamber; plus a change to the political structure of the

Sejm itself by allowing most of the various political currents to be represented in it. It would be possible to reflect this new structure in state executive bodies at various levels.

As a means of achieving this, we have proposed to hold a roundtable, where it is possible to agree on various key issues, including the future model of the trade union movement. Another purpose of the roundtable is to help form a council of national accord, a body which would have the power to draft various constitutional, legal, and political changes. This must be accompanied by appropriate changes in the economy. The general plan thereof is contained in the concept of the second stage of the economic reform. We will guarantee the resources and means necessary to really implement this concept more radically and more quickly. We also expect that as soon as we have established some measure of accord on political issues, it will be easier to achieve accord on the subject of the reform. But we do not need gentleman's agreements behind office doors between people representing various currents, not all of them involved in social life. We need an accord that embraces the millions of communities on whom the real implementation of the reform depends.

Therefore, that is the outline of today's program and plan of action. No one in Poland is presenting a better, more precise, and more feasible one. Therefore, we want to at least discuss our proposals and examine other proposals that could complement and enrich our own. That is the way things are in negotiations based on the principle of compromise.

However, as soon as some forces represented at the roundtable assume an attitude of confrontation in advance and say: We have our objectives, and either we have them granted at once or we will not talk, then the possibility of accord with these groups becomes doubtful.

Michal Broniatowski, REUTER: I would like to return to your opening statement, and I hope I am quoting correctly. You said that no accord will be possible at the St. Brygida's parish meetings. Is that because this church forum is different from the one you have just described? Is it because this forum has said that unless Solidarity is recognized, there will be no roundtable?

In the light of this attitude from the parish of St. Brygida, could you comment on what you said in your opening statement?

Urban: What I said was based on a resolution adopted by a body that considers itself to be a group of intellectuals. Of course there were various groups inside the church, where various documents were adopted and various stances presented.

I repeat, we are ready to discuss a model for the trade union movement. We have expressed this stance in the same way as the stance concerning Solidarity was presented at the St. Brygida parish meetings. Quite simply, various groups have expressed their stances. There is a stance contained in the Eighth Central Committee Plenum resolution, there is a stance contained in the OPZZ resolution, and there are stances contained in most of the various documents, documents dealing with various kinds of pluralism and adopted by various bodies such as the political parties and PRON. What I described as our stance has already split into various shades, that is all.

Monika Olejnik, Polish Radio third program: Last week, you said that the government would definitely be the first to be ready for talks. Who is not ready right now, the government or the opposition?

I would also like to find out whether these roundtable talks will be possible if the opposition says that it will not talk about the legalization of Solidarity and trade union pluralism. After all, the purpose of a roundtable is to exchange views. Therefore, I do not know what the preparations for the roundtable involve. Is a list of participants still being drawn up?

Urban: A list is being drawn up, and procedures are also being established because suddenly there is talk of preconditions.

As far as our views are concerned, those which we want to present at the roundtable, we are ready for talks. We are ready, provided that the conditions agreed on by both sides are fulfilled, in other words no preconditions and no restrictions on the subject-matter.

Because these conditions are being questioned, further bargaining is required.

Franco Cuimana, ANSA: In order to reach a compromise or accord, I think that each side has to give up something, or else there will be no compromise, accord, or dialogue. Is the government side ready to give up anything or not?

Urban: It is inaccurate to call it a government side, because the roundtable is meant to gather various forces representing various social currents, not just a government side and an antigovernment side. I wish to assure you that just like you, we also consider this meeting to be a bilateral attempt at compromise. Nevertheless, every serious party to the talks knows the limits of the compromise it is willing to reach.

I can tell you what our limits are: an inviolability of the socialist character of Poland's further development, coupled with a full awareness that the very concept and forms of socialism change with the passing of time, plus an understanding of what is happening in the world and of the challenges facing our part of the world and our traditions.

Kay Withers, THE BALTIMORE SUN: Can you dismiss the possibility of there being a meeting between General Kiszczak and Mr Walesa tomorrow [13 September]?

Second, who will make up the delegation representing the authorities at the roundtable? Has a list already been prepared?

Urban: Well, being realistic, I think I can say that a meeting will not take place tomorrow. In the light of what I have said, some preparations still have to be made.

I cannot tell you who will represent the authorities, because agreement about representation at the roundtable is still to be reached, and, for form's sake, I will not reveal anything.

Maria Goc, RADIO POLONIA: As government spokesman, what position do you think the PZPR majority in the Sejm will adopt vis-a-vis the government?

Urban: At its eighth plenary meeting, the PZPR Central Committee decided to use the findings of the Extraordinary Sejm Commission. The party leadership will inform the PZPR caucus about its position, which will take into consideration the conclusions reached by the Extraordinary Commission as well as all the other aspects of this question. The positions adopted at plenary meetings of the ZSL and SD ruling bodies, the PRON Executive Committee resolution that was issued today, the OPZZ council position on the government released earlier, and resolutions issued by other forces that have an influence in the Sejm also have an appropriate degree of importance. So, what we have to do now is wait for the Sejm debate and its outcome.

Tadeusz Zakrzewski, Polish Television: Could you provide us with some details about Mrs Thatcher's planned visit to Poland? Above all, could you tell us what hopes, expectations are linked to it?

Urban: Intensive preparations for the visit are still being made. According to initial plans, the visit is scheduled for October. At present, discussions are being held about the detailed provisions of the program. At the moment, all I can say is that I hope that the visit will be an important event within the context of bilateral relations as well as being of significance for East-West relations. We will be playing host to a politician who is of considerable standing in the West, a politician who heads a state that is considered the United States' closest ally. This is why the rather conventional hopes that I have expressed are essentially hopes of a concrete kind.

Luigi Geninatti, AVENIERE: Could you tell us whether there will be a further meeting between minister Kiszczak and Walesa before the roundtable talks begin?

Second, could your statement on the Solidarity meeting at St Brygida's Church in Gdansk be taken to mean that new difficulties have arisen in the process of preparing for the roundtable?

Urban: I will begin by answering your second question:

My statement does not create any difficulties. It is a response to difficulties that have arisen.

My reply to your question about whether a meeting could take place sooner than the roundtable, that is, a meeting involving a narrower circle of people, is that it could. A roundtable does not necessarily have to take place with all possible representatives being involved right away. The number of people taking part can be gradually increased, we can gradually move toward to what would constitute the full strength of the roundtable. After all, it is not some formal body like a government, a parliament, or the governing body of some organization. So, it is likely that there will be some transitional stage between the talks that have taken place involving four people and the formation of a full roundtable.

Evelia Maitret, Mexican Television: Mr Minister, my question concerns the OPZZ resolution, in which the movement proposes calling for the resignation of the government. My question is as follows: Are there groups or individuals in the government who are in any sense prepared to resign? Thank you.

Urban: I have nothing to say on this subject.

Jean Dobija: Mr Minister, I would like to raise a matter connected with the death of Lieutenant Turbakiewicz at the Stalowa Wola Steelworks. One of the witnesses, a Mr Ostrowski, was detained, and detained for hours. I understand that he suffers from epilepsy, and, in the light of this, this sort of period of detention could pose a danger to his health. Nevertheless, it was decided to detain him. Does this mean that the authorities think that he was more than just a witness?

Urban: I am neither familiar with the name nor with the events in question. I can only assure you in general terms that we do not detain witnesses in Poland. If someone is detained, then it is in connection with some charge, but a person can be held for up to 48 hours to establish whether there are grounds for a charge to be made. But what I am telling you is what the law states, which is not an answer to a concrete question.

However, I might add that the people who suggested that you ask this question do so through a lawyer and not through a journalist or the government spokesman, who cannot, of course, be aware of all the events of this kind that take place in Poland, a country that has a population of 40 million.

Mahid Jusif, WAFA: At a press conference given yesterday, Foreign Ministry press spokesman Staniszewski neither confirmed nor denied whether any kind of official or unofficial meeting had taken place between representatives of the Polish Government and Israel's Trade and Industry Minister Ariel Sharon who is accused of genocide in connection with the massacres at the Sabra and Shatila camps, the sixth anniversary of which occurs about now.

My questions is: If a meeting did take place with Sharon, who is here as a tourist, then who did he meet?

Urban: I do not know anything about any official meetings that Mr Sharon may have had in Warsaw.

Alma Kadragic, ABC News: Mr Minister, this is not a question addressed to you, but to the organizers of this meeting. The cameraman who is filming me at the moment keeps getting in the way of everyone who is filming for Western television stations. In view of this, I would like to ask whether he cannot stand at the back of the room like all the other camermen and stop disrupting his colleagues' work?

Urban: I would perhaps ask Director Gorski to invite Mrs Kadragic for a talk and explain to her the function and character of the post of government spokesman. This is simply not the right place for making all kinds of complaints, for complaining that one camera is in the way of another, or that a particular kind of cheese could not be found in the shops this morning. I would ask you to treat these meetings in the way that is customary for press conferences of this kind all over the world.

Director Gorski: A request for Mr Zakrzewski, who is operating the camera.

Krzyszton Lewandowski, KURIER POLSKI: How extensive do you think exchange programs for children and young people were during the vacation period?

Urban: This vacation was good in this respect. About 500,000 Polish young people spent the vacation abroad in various ways. This only applies to organized forms specifically for young people.

There was a sixth exchange between Poland and the GDR governed by an agreement, and this year more than 167,000 Polish children, young people, and students went to the GDR.

Vacations were spent in Czechoslovakia by 96,000 young people, in Hungary by 30,000, in the Soviet Union by 51,000, in Bulgaria by 23,000, in Romania by 2,000, and in Yugoslavia by 12,000. A certain symbolic number visited the ROK, and 1,150 young people visited Cuba. About 10,000 young people took part in organized trips to the West.

This gives a total of 450,000, but we estimate that contacts between schools, colleges, and social organizations that are not registered account for another 50,000 at least, which gives us a round figure of 500,000. We want to expand all these types of vacation exchange programs, so that the majority of Polish young people get to see something of the rest of the world.

Renate Marsch, DPA: Could the first roundtable meeting take place before the Sejm meets?

Urban: The two are not in anyway connected, and as far as a date is concerned, I have nothing new to add to what I said in reply to the first question on this subject.

Krzysztof Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: One of the factors that led to the ending of the strikes was the fact that the authorities pledged to reinstate all the employees who had been dismissed for taking part in them. This process was to last several weeks. Can you tell us what has happened so far?

Urban: The central authorities have not made any commitments of this kind. In general, these matters were regulated during the course of talks between management and unions, management and groups of striking workers, or were not settled at all.

All I can reveal is that our intention is that as soon as progress is made about procedures concerning the attainment of agreements, some way is found of making it possible, without defying the law and in a situation in which there is calm in the country, not to take disciplinary or legal action against those who organized or took part in the strikes. Of course, this does not apply to the payment of wages for the period over which the strikes occurred, because there is no question of that happening.

Janusz Grochowski, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: Mr Minister, would you care to comment on the latest White House statements on Polish matters?

Urban: No.

However, on 8 September, the BBC's Polish service reported a rather peculiar statement made by Janusz Onyszkiewicz to the reporters that stand outside the White House as he left the building. It was not only reported by the BBC, but also by other agencies, radio stations, and Western newspapers. Janusz Onyszkiewicz declared that President Reagan had announced that that the United States will continue to exert pressure, I stress the word pressure, on the Polish Government to incline the authorities to establish a real dialogue with representatives of society.

We find it hard to believe that at the present stage in U.S.-Polish relations, after numerous declarations by the U.S. authorities to the effect that they do not intend to interfere in our internal affairs, the President announces

that pressure will be exerted against the sovereign Polish state. This statement—I repeat—runs counter to the avowed nature of U.S. policy toward Poland.

We do not know whether this is just something that Onyszkiewicz himself formulated or whether he had been empowered by the President of the United States to announce a change in U.S. policy toward Poland, a policy involving pressure, that is, one of interfering in our internal affairs. It is a fact that the statement made by Janusz Onyszkiewicz has not been corrected by any American official.

We would be grateful to the U.S. authorities if they would explain to us whether they really have announced that they intend to pursue a policy of applying pressure toward Poland.

I would like to say that Poles perceive this declaration as as an insult to their dignity. The use of pressure against Poland has never been and never will be effective.

We are waiting for an explanation from the U.S. authorities about whether Janusz Onyszkiewicz was empowered to talk about the intended use of pressure against Poland and whether this really is the way in which the United States intends to develop its policy toward Poland.

Sylvia Kaufmann, LE MONDE: Mr Minister, to avoid any misunderstandings, what exactly do you mean by the commencement of preparatory talks? Is it a question of introductory talks, or preparatory talks for some kind of introductory meeting, for a roundtable meeting? Are these preparatory talks directly related to the roundtable meeting, and do you think that there really is some possibility of such a roundtable meeting actually taking place?

Urban: That is a good question, because what we are talking about are talks that are not being held in public, but are taking place through intermediaries in order to establish the conditions for the organization of a roundtable meeting, as well as the possibility of a preparatory meeting involving some of those who would take part in the roundtable that would pave the way for a full roundtable meeting. The authorities do of course want a roundtable to take place. I hope that it will not only take place, but that it will also be productive.

Patricia Koza, UPI: I apologize, Mr Minister, but I think that there is something else that requires an explanation. You said at the beginning of today's conference that you were responding to the differences that had emerged in connection with the meetings that took place last weekend. Is it a question of difficulties that could make a preparatory meeting between Walesa and Kiszczak impossible? Or is it more a matter of problems concerning the organization of a roundtable in general?

Urban: I spoke about difficulties, but I cannot predict what consequences these difficulties may have.

Krzysztof Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: Could I just point out that that what we are talking about the whole time here is the question of contact between the authorities and a movement that the authorities do not recognize. When a 7-million strong trade union movement expressed a vote of no confidence in the government, you have nothing to say on the subject?

Urban: I simply have nothing to say in response to the question of whether the government is ready to resign. First, the question is premature, second, I am not empowered to provide an answer to a question of such key importance for the government at present.

There is a right time and a right place for everything. I expect that Premier Messner will make a statement on this subject rather than the press spokesman. As I already said, we are all waiting to see what the Extraordinary Sejm Commission has to say, after all, it was not established to embellish public life, but to analyze problems connected with the work of the government, to assess its actions.

Evelia Maitret, Mexican Television: Mr Minister, as Polish experience shows, after the many strikes that took place, there was talk of applying sanctions against striking workers. A similar situation exists today; I am referring to the August strikes. I am thinking, first and foremost, of the almost 300 workers who were drafted for military training. The most controversial question seems to be that of drafting people who until now have been exempt from military service for military training, people who in the past have been exempted for health reasons or because they have reached the age of 59. Could you comment on this from the government's point of view? Thank you.

Urban: I dismiss the possibility of someone being drafted if, according to the legislation that regulates these matters, he is not required to perform military service. As for our attitude toward various consequences of participation in the strikes is concerned, I have already made that clear. There is still a matter of a formal kind that I should mention. I am very sorry to have to say that I will not be giving a press conference next week. I am sorry, because I am sure that a lot of very important events will be taking place. However, I will be making a visit to Austria that was arranged earlier, and I will only be able to speak from Vienna.

Krzysztof Bobinski: In what capacity are you going to Austria next Tuesday?

Urban: It is an official visit by the government spokesman.

'Communique' on 13 Sep Politburo Session

AU1909140188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Sep 88 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "Communique on PZPR Central Committee Politburo Session"]

[Text] At its 13 September session, the Politburo discussed the implementation of concepts and tasks of the eighth party plenum and appraised the socioeconomic situation. The session was attended by OPZZ leaders.

The Politburo and OPZZ leaders are in favor of continued efforts to expand the platform of national accord, which is of crucial importance for overcoming the features of crisis and for accelerating socialist renewal and reforms in political, economic, and social life. Only permanent dialogue and cooperation can guarantee the successful development of the fatherland and help improve our living standards.

Honesty, partnerlike credibility, and sincere intention to achieve constructive results in dialogue between various social forces and representatives of various political orientations are the key to the success of roundtable talks. This concept of dialogue is at odds with ultimatum-like demands, threats to disturb social calm and the rhythm of economic performance, efforts to fan dangerous emotions, the creation of various accomplished tasks by establishing various unlawful organizational structures, the endless submission of preconditions, and so on. The avoidance of talks with the present trade unions in plants resembles the "methods" at the beginning of the eighties—methods which led nowhere and which were dangerous to society, citizens, accord, and reforms.

The desire to restrict roundtable talks to auctioneering in accordance with the unfortunate principle "all or nothing at all" is a great misunderstanding. After all, discussions between various partners are supposed to produce agreement on general issues concerning changes in the system of power as well as in the country's political, social, and economic life. The most important thing is to agree on all these issues.

The Politburo stressed that the principle that a single trade union should operate in one plant enables the trade union to express every demand of workers and to select its program and its authorities in line with the will of most workers.

The Politburo noted that in accordance of trade unions' openness, all workers professing various views and aspirations can become trade union members.

The Politburo studied a report on the cost of living in the first 6 months of 1988 and on the expected costs for the rest of the year. OPZZ leaders reported on the recent session of the OPZZ Council and explained the reasons for the session's resolutions.

The growth of incomes and prices has greatly exceeded the planned indexes this year, and this is one of the chief reasons why the market situation has deteriorated.

Statistics show that increase in wages and other personal cash incomes have outstripped increases in prices and living costs, although people think that real wages have decreased. The Politburo agrees with trade unions that this situation is a result of the continued shortage of goods and of the harassments of daily life, which induces people to become convinced that living conditions continue to deteriorate instead of getting better.

Increased production and the flow of goods are unable to keep abreast of increasing wages and demand. As a result, shopping is more difficult, sales of some goods continue to be interrupted, shopping lines have gotten longer, and so on.

The Politburo agreed that the increasing feeling of social injustice is rooted in the incompatibility between wages and actual performance.

The Politburo agrees with the trade unions that people's moods have also deteriorated because of the bad timing of increases in prices, wages, and other personal incomes. For example, in the first quarter of this year, wages increased as a result of the Z6,000 compensation bonus, the increase in minimum wages, the payment of profit bonuses, and the promotion of workers to higher wage groups. In the second quarter, it was prices that increased more tangibly. A large number of families earning their living in the public-sector economy and all retired people were those who were most handicapped by deteriorated living conditions.

The Politburo noted that it is necessary to strengthen the discipline of prices and wages, especially in material production, and that wage increases must closely depend on increases in production and in the flow of goods.

It stressed that there are no reasons why activities that weaken the economy and deteriorate our living standards should be rewarded by bonuses.

It is expected that the trade union review of working, social, and living conditions in plants this fall will be carried out with special thoroughness. Trade unions should be assisted in this important undertaking, especially in the rapid implementation of findings, by managements, workers self-management bodies, and party organizations.

We should accelerate preparations for evaluating the economic situation of plants with the help of experts. This evaluation will be a continuation of similar appraisals at the beginning of this year.

The Politburo discussed the organization and program of the Social and State Commission for Prices and Incomes, whose establishment was recommended by the seventh plenum.

The commission's basic task will be to appraise general decisions in the policy of prices and incomes and to adjust the interests of individual social and professional groups with general social interests.

The commission will be set up very soon as a result of an understanding reached by social and professional institutions and organizations, which will delegate their representatives to the commission. The commission's performance will in no way affect the powers of those organizations.

The Politburo noted that in view of the present political struggle, party cells and organizations must promote more independent activities and political initiative and should launch various actions resulting from the coherent interpretation of the seventh and eighth plenum decisions.

The Politburo stressed that the party organizations' urgent task is to rally proreform and pro-innovation forces in all communities and that it is necessary to promote original forms of the party organizations' contacts with the working people. Setting up teams of economic and social initiatives can be one such form.

The Politburo approved the most important proposals for the program of celebrations in connection with the 70th anniversary of Poland's regained independence. This independence was a great historic victory of all classes and segments of the Polish people and the fulfillment of the patriotic aspirations of many generations of Poles.

This anniversary will enable us to pay homage to those who fought for independence, to generally ponder on our existence as a state and on the factors that determine our state's prosperity, and to demonstrate the complicated nature and continuity of Poland's development. The celebrations of the 70th anniversary should help to teach our people, especially of the younger generation, how to think rationally in terms of history, to overcome prejudices, myths, and simplifications, and to strengthen patriotism. The memory of the struggle for independence should rally our people around our sociopolitical and economic changes and trigger initiative in order to strengthen our socialist fatherland and its position in the world.

The Politburo examined the programmatic principles in line with which the 40th anniversary of the unification of the workers movement—the establishment of the PZPR—and stressed that the merger of the Polish Workers Party and the Polish Socialist Party took place in a new historical situation and terminated the period of the Polish workers movement's disruption. The PZPR has become a force behind socioeconomic changes, the advancement in the Polish people's civilization and culture, and is the political guarantor of our national security. In order to worthily honor that historic anniversary, we have set up the Honorary Committee for Celebrating the 40th Anniversary of the Unity Congress of the United Workers Party, the composition of which reflects the continuity of the development process of the Polish left-wing and makes it possible to demonstrate all achievements of the workers parties in independent Poland and during the war.

'Advisor' Jacek Kuron on Future of Solidarity

AU1909123988 Vienna PROFIL in German No 38 19 Sep 88 p 60

[Interview with "Solidarity advisor" Jacek Kuron by Jacek Kubiak: "No Reforms Without Solidarity"; date and place not given]

[Text] Kubiak: What are the chances of Solidarity being legalized again?

Kuron: The legalization of our trade union is only a question of time. This is a necessity that results from the total failure of the policy that was started (with the declaration of martial law) on 13 December 1981. Polish workers are determined to carry on the struggle for Solidarity. There are two reasons for this. First, the workers' material situation has radically deteriorated; at present, real income is 20-percent lower than in 1980. In addition, the economic apparatus and the enterprise managements are very inimical to the workers. The strike in the Borynia mine was broken up with the participation of the members of the enterprise management, they beat the miners. Therefore, a real representation of the workers is needed in Poland. Second, the opinion is gaining ground among the population that successful reform is impossible without an independent social force.

Kubiak: A general strike did not take place, however.

Kuron: One can say that the latest strikes were organized by a radical minority. There is a silent majority in Poland. This majority did not believe that the protest movement could be useful. It was passive. But, the first talk between Walesa and Interior Minister Kiszczak, in particular, was a success and marked a turning point. The silent majority will become active now.

Kubiak: Do you support the compromise established by Walesa, which has been harshly criticized by part of the strikers?

Kuron: Yes, of course, because the authorities have started talks with Solidarity for the first time since 13 December 1988. This is of extraordinary political and psychological importance.

Kubiak: Do you hope for a positive result of the negotiations which are now starting on the legalization of Solidarity?

Kuron: I am still skeptical. Although I think that the party leadership understands the need for reforms and political dialogue, I am afraid that it is not yet willing to accept Solidarity as a political partner. It would be better if no other strikes were necessary to achieve the legalization of Solidarity. However, I do not know, whether strikes are avoidable. The party leadership is deeply divided. After Walesa had called for a settlement of the strikes, the enterprise managements—in the Manifest Lipcowy Mine in Silesia, for instance—tried to exacerbate the conflict again by declaring concessions that had already been made null and void; these concessions referred to the demands for wage increases and safety of the strikers. Something like that is not done without orders from a party or government body.

Kubiak: What role can the church play in the process of political dialogue in Poland?

Kuron: A big one, because the authorities consider the church a trustworthy and realistic interlocutor.

Kubiak: Over the past years there have been signs—I mean some statements by Cardinal Glemp—that the church is no longer interested in the legalization of Solidarity.

Kuron: The church has always tried to avoid political confrontation. The demand for Solidarity, however, has again met with massive support among the workers, that is, also among the believers. Therefore, the church is now clearly advocating trade union pluralism.

Kubiak: Can a free trade union really solve the economic and political problems?

Kuron: This is only the first step. At the same time, the law relating to associations must be liberalized so that different social groups can be organized. Already today there are the beginnings of an organized society, the shop committees or the ecological movement, for instance. Then all partners must agree on the scope of the necessary reforms and a government of experts and persons who have great authority both in the opposition and in the party must be appointed. However, such a process is unthinkable without Solidarity.

Kubiak: Do you not fear that, after the legalization of Solidarity, a political radicalization of the masses might take place, which might be dangerous?

Kuron: No, on the contrary. The profound crisis which we are currently experiencing is the potential reason for such a radicalization. The legalization of Solidarity offers the only chance to overcome the crisis in a peaceful way. Otherwise, the new Solidarity will be different. It will not be a reservoir of all hopes and efforts of the Polish people. It will concentrate on trade union work, and the purely political demands will be dealt with by other organizations and associations.

Kubiak: Before the second meeting between Walesa and Interior Minister Kiszczak, strikes broke out in some Polish towns. What does this mean?

Kuron: These strikes were organized by the official trade union. It wants to prove that it is a political force. This was also an attempt to put a strain on the atmosphere of the negotiations.

State Council Member Zawadzki on Strike Laws

PM1409103988 Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 27-28 Aug 88 p 3

[Interview with Prof Sylwester Zawadzki, member of the Council of State, by KAR correspondent Irena Scholl; date, place not given]

[Text] [Scholl] Professor, could you recall for us the principles for organizing a legal strike?

[Zawadzki] They are formulated in the 1982 trade unions act, which was drafted as a parliamentary bill as early as 1981. The first step in the process of resolving collective disputes—discussed in chapter 5 of the act—is to conduct negotiations between the union and the manager. If the outcome is not positive, a commission, composed of representatives of both sides, embarks on a conciliation procedure.

If the stalemate continues, the matter is directed to a public arbitration collegium attached to a labor tribunal.

It is only when all these procedures have been exhausted and the dispute remains unresolved that the law allows a strike to be called, but only provided that the majority of the work force decide so in a secret ballot.

[Scholl] This would suggest that strikes are only for those who are inclined to be patient, whereas conflict-laden attitudes and situations are usually accompanied by high emotions and acute impatience. Similar reservations were voiced back in 1981 during the debate on the trade unions act.

[Zawadzki] Indeed, this dilemma was at that time discussed in its many aspects: Were not the negotiations and the subsequent stages of the collective dispute too drawn-out? Would the lengthy procedure not "precipitate" the employees' side onto the path of illegal action?

However, the commission working on the preparation of the bill, which I chaired, issued a unanimous opinion that a strike is a double-edged weapon. If it lasts long, then, given the conditions obtaining in socialist society, it can ruin the economy. On the other hand, talks guarantee that both sides' arguments will be considered, and in this way they fashion a new style of public life. In

contrast, "instant strikes" result in public life dissolving into anarchy, a fact which is well known to the majority of people who lived through the experience of 1981.

That is why the interest of the whole of society must be taken into consideration in addition to the interest of the particular work force. Consequently, precipitate action must be avoided in such instances.

[Scholl] Perhaps the long procedure that must be followed before a legal strike can be declared was inserted "by force" into the act by the side representing state administration on the commission? Perhaps trade union representatives on the commission were against it?

[Zawadzki] No. Representatives of unions operating within particular sectors of industry, as well as delegates of autonomous unions and the entire leadership of Solidarity, were at that time unanimous in favoring this institutional solution. Naturally, this does not preclude a further debate which, in conjunction with practical experience, might eventually result in a simplification of the procedure. For the time being, however, the act remains in force and all the sides taking part in collective debates should abide by it.

Foreigners visiting Poland are surprised to see that political strikes are allowed to take place here. "Back home in the FRG we have excluded political strikes from legislation regulating the right to strike," DER SPIEGEL's editor-in-chief declared as early as 1981. Similar restrictions exist in the legislation of many other countries: Lists of demands presented by striking work forces may not include demands of a political nature.

Incidentally, let us note that many countries which have been introducing progressively tighter strike legislation on their own home ground approve or at least accept illegal strikes in Poland. A classic example is Great Britain, which has introduced a rule stipulating that a strike can only be called if the majority of the work force declares in favor of a strike in a secret ballot; in addition, the ballot may not be organized on enterprise premises but the votes must be mailed in from workers' homes. Thus, the decision to strike in a way also depends on the stand taken by the whole family.

[Scholl] The arguments about the illegal nature of our strikes are hardly heeded. Instead, the unions are charged with being largely ineffective in representing workers' interests. Perhaps the act does not give them sufficient powers?

[Zawadzki] The unions do have wide powers and use them extensively. They issue their own, entirely free opinions on successive reform programs and socioeconomic plans and submit their own proposals on issues concerning the working people. Views may differ on the evaluation of those proposals an opinions, but the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum conceded that the unionists were correct in their criticism of, say, the official prices and wages policy and, what is more, itself issued a critique of the relevant issues. We also heard self-criticism on the part of government representatives.

Even if the unions are not always successful in individual campaigns, the overall course of their activity certainly influences the shape of the state's socioeconomic policy. In the long run, this way is doubtless more effective than that of strike terrorism, which results in severe losses and, in addition, provides grist to the mill of antireform forces.

[Scholl] Procrastination on the part of state administration is also grist to their mill.

[Zawadzki] That is why the program of the "new thinking" campaign should include respect for the views expressed by the trade unions as well as a dynamic and efficient approach to tackling all the outstanding matters on their agenda.

[Scholl] Professor, what in your opinion is the most obvious weakness of the reform which is responsible for its lack of success?

[Zawadzki] The efficiency schemes within the reform are largely ineffective—for example, no way has been found to date of introducing successful incentives to encourage workers to increase productivity. There has been no departure from the practice of paying employees for merely turning up at work, nor has there been a changeover to better remuneration for those who carry out their duties productively and efficiently.

That is why I continue, with a persistence bordering on insanity, to fight for the popularization of team contracting work schemes since the experience of several hundred enterprises demonstrates that these are profitable for the employee, the enterprise, and society in general. Partnership teams have won universal approval from young employees.

[Scholl] This is probably a good way of involving young employees in joint management of enterprises so that they can feel they are the real owners of their workplaces—which must not be jeopardized through destruction, unproductiveness, or "mere" inefficient use...

Thank you for the interview.

PRON Notes Faults, Need for Accord

AU1509155688 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Sep 88 pp 1,5

[Report by "J. T.": "There Is a Need for Radical, Original Reforms"]

[Text] What kind of role should PRON be playing in the current situation? What should PRON do to ensure that it remains in the mainstream of change while, at the same time, continuing to keep to the principle that the

movement should not monopolize the revival of patriotic feeling and the paths leading to accord? What mistakes have been made in the past? Can they be rectified, and if so, how? Putting it as briefly as possible, that is how one could describe what was discussed at the meeting of the PRON National Council Executive Committee that was held in Warsaw on 12 September and attended by voivodship council representatives.

Opening the meeting, Jan Dobraczynski, the movement's chairman, said that the meeting had not been called earlier because it was felt that the situation had only now become clear enough to allow concrete decisions to be made. He said that the Presidium's current position had, nevertheless, been made known in the interview that he gave to PAP. The Presidium's position stemmed from the belief that the essential solution, the only one, lay in a broad concept of dialogue, which has in fact been PRON's guiding principle since its very inception.

Stanislaw Ciosek, PRON general secretary and a Politburo candidate member, described the overall situation in the country and said that the general mood of the country had clearly worsened and that confidence in the authorities and public institutions, including PRON, had waned. The last wave of strikes has indicated that the democratic structures and procedures that have been adopted until now are still inadequate in that they do not provide a way of resolving conflicts and disputes.

Assessing PRON's role during the recent strikes, the movement's general secretary asked a number of questions: "Did we, that is, PRON, try to act as mediators? Had we undertaken a mission of this kind, would we have won the approval of the parties involved? Should we not change something about the way in which we operate?"

He went on to say that, although the August conflict had now been defused, the problems that triggered it still remain and if they are not solved in good time, they might result in further outbreaks of tension. There is a need for radical, original changes in the economy, as well as in the political system and the system of government generally. Next, he described and expressed support for the ideas behind a "roundtable," and said that the idea had provoked a mixed response. Some people believed that it was a sell out, a betrayal. Ciosek stressed that it was a logical consequence of a policy of being open and responsive, of creating a basis for agreement among Poles. It was not some kind of turnabout. The idea was first raised 7 years ago, and the conditions that exist now make it possible to begin to give it some substance.

It is a truism to say that we are a different country today—peoples' attitudes and conduct have changed. New institutions have been established, such as the Constitutional Tribunal, the State Tribunal, or the office of spokesman for civil rights. The role of the church has grown, and cooperation between Marxists and Catholics has increased. It was PRON that brought about the establishment of the Consensus dialogue group, which works together with the episcopate and whose members subscribe to a variety of ideologies and beliefs.

Talks are being held with a view to establishing a National Accord Council. Alongside activities of this kind, PRON activists should seek to create various forums at the "grass-roots" level—in communes, towns, and regions. The large number of small alliances of this kind—alliances forged in communes, residential districts, and towns—can provide an enormous base for creating a new, broad coalition geared toward progress and change. Local conditions interest people more than politics at the national level. PRON can get through to many people and encourage them to be active by means of a regional movement, a movement based in these "small fatherlands."

In conclusion, S. Ciosek said: "So, today there are two platforms for our activities. The first is the national one—relations in the fatherland as a whole. The second is the one that we in PRON should create in order to construct an infrastructure for the alliance of forces that will emerge at a 'roundtable.' Without this kind of infrastructure, this alliance will only represent agreement among those in power."

Next, various views were expressed during a discussion that lasted several hours, views that often clashed. However, it was generally stressed that, in assessing the current situation, it also has to be said that a tendency to cover oneself against any possible negative consequences that a course of action might have and to engage in "blocking" practices has also existed in PRON itself. This stemmed from the belief that it is necessary for the movement to project itself as a grouping without any internal divisions, as one in which there are no differences of opinion about concrete actions. The movements' activist were frequently unable or unwilling to express opinions that differed from official ones, or to bring reports prepared by the movements' experts to the attention of a broader public. Today it has to be pointed out once again that PRON is a coalition made up of forces that accept the decision of 13 December 1981 and consider it to have been necessary. A National Accord Council can provide a way of expanding the coalition, but it cannot be a substitute for it. The most pressing task at the present time is that of taking resolute action aimed at stopping attempts to delay the reform of the political and economic system, regardless of who is behind them.

For PRON to become credible and recover the position that it enjoyed during its first few years, it must adopt a concrete position on the most important national issues. It was agreed that what the movement has to do at present is to promote all tendencies toward expanding dialogue to include all forces that respect the Constitution—both "at the top," in the form of a National Accord Council, and at the "grass-roots" level, on ordinary, everyday matters.

Katowice Party Plenum on Causes of Strikes

AU1909142588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Sep 88 p 2

[Stanislaw Zielinski report: "Katowice: One Has To Begin With the Causes"]

[Text] The party can argue about the extent to which the August wave of strikes was caused by the political opposition, and the extent to which the strikes were a spontaneous reaction by a society ever dissatisfied with the difficulties of life. But the party cannot deny that, apart from making political demands, the strikers also spoke out on the subject of daily problems, and by doing so earned the support of those who did not strike.

Addressing this subject at the 13 September plenary session of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee, Manfred Gorywoda, Politburo member, said that although the strikes are over, the problems which lie at the root of society's dissatisfaction are not. A complete recognition of these problems is the point of departure for formulating precise party tasks in order to eradicate them.

That is why the Katowice plenum, devoted to establishing the line of action of the Katowice PZPR Committee as a result of the Eighth Central Committee Plenum, began with an accurate and in-depth assessment of the recent past, when coal extraction in 12 mines was halted by strike action.

The exhaustive debate discussed the efforts of regional and primary party organizations and cells to prevent the strikes from spreading to other mines or non-mining workplaces. It examined the reasons for the negative moods among miners, which had been deteriorating for some time before the strikes broke out. There is no doubt that these reasons include a bad climate surrounding coal mining, an absence of a clear future concept for mining, complicated and incomprehensible wage rules for miners, the unattractive wages paid for work from Monday to Friday, the decreased significance of the special miners' shops, the continuing absence of rules to reduce the working week of miners, the more difficult working conditions, and the decrease in essential supplies for mines.

These are not the only problems. For example, the present chain of command of ministry-mining area-guild-mine is much criticized. Ryszard Leszczynski, first secretary of the PZPR committee at the "Jastrzebie" mine, even said that "mining must be freed from central control, and the principles of social justice in mines must be derived from the powers of workers self-management bodies."

The Katowice plenum welcomed the news that a group of experts had been appointed to deal with these matters. Just like everyone in Katowice Voivodship, the miners are struggling with accumulated problems that have not been solved for years, such as delays in improving social and communal infrastructures, lack of incentive, and commodity supplies that are out of line with the community's purchasing power.

Referring to these, Katowice Voivoda Tadeusz Wnuk was forced to admit that the actions of the voivodship authorities to eliminate all these shortcomings either require a lot of time (for example, improvements to transportation), or they can only cover a short period of time because of the general shortage of commodities. The actions raise hopes, but offer no guarantee.

Not all the reasons behind the social dissatisfaction are objective, said Grzegorz Kowalski, deputy chairman of the voivodship auditing and control commission. Managers at various levels have failed to implement earlier demands by party organizations and cells, especially those calling for improvements to interpersonal relations at the right time and in the right place. Such improvements are the intention of voivodship auditing and control commissions,

In its resolution, the Katowice plenum laid down concrete tasks for the voivodship party committee following the Eighth Central Committee Plenum. These tasks must aim to eliminate the causes of the social unrest and frustration and expand the platform of accord for the sake of the common welfare.

Press Cited on Human Rights, Trade Unions

AU1509133388 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECNHY in Polish 11 Sep 88 p 5

["Press Review" compiled by RG]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] GOSC NIEDZIELNY in its 36/1988 issue carries an article by Edward Balawajder on the need to "work to improve work." The Marxist system of work that is "objectified and managed from above" is against the aspirations of the working people, Balawajder writes. Christianity has its own vision of work, one which always regards man as a thoroughly independent human being who must never be used as a means of achieving other values. In addition, employment in the state sector is often not enough to support one's family, and that is why people take extra jobs to the detriment of their other aspirations. Urgent changes are required in this regard. "Economic and political reforms must again make citizens independent in looking after their problems and in taking economic initiative. These reforms must also recognize the rights to which the working people are entitled, because as John Paul II has said, "only if the rights of the people are safeguarded as rights of individuals, communities, and the entire nation, are people ready to work for the common good." "There is no doubt," Balawajder continues, "that the claims people make will not diminish unless their rights are fully respected and unless their participation in

decisionmaking is increased." It is necessary to promote democracy in enterprises, because this will promote democracy in general. It is necessary to remove the issues of work from the spheres of ideology and politics. "Poland is in an economic crisis, and not only workers, but also other segments of society continue to painfully experience restrictions on their rights and on their impact on decisions about their affairs and on the course of broad public issues. Our working people must become convinced that their work has purpose and is well organized, that their toil and its results are not wasted, and that their wages are just. The working man must be treated with respect for his dignity and civic rights. The solidarity and common sense of workers must not be diminished..." the censor cut off the passage at this point.

KONFRONTACJE in its 7-8/1988 issue carries an interview with Stanislaw Stomma, who is asked to characterize the present situation in Poland (the interview was presumably made before the most recent waves of strikes). Stomma says that our situation is full of frustrations, but that a breakthrough may eventually take place. Asked about conditions under which the government and the opposition may come to an agreement, Stomma says: "In a way it is necessary to cross the present limits of pluralism. So far the government has taken no measures the opposition could accept." The establishment of the Consultative Council cannot be considered as such a measure for two reasons: First, it is composed of individuals who have been invited to join it and not of individuals who have been elected or delegated by the people. Second, its competences are strictly advisory. Replying to a question about trade union pluralism and whether the restoration of pluralism would create "anarchization of production and social disarray," Stomma says: "The opposition is right. Our people are extremely sensitive on this point. Right or wrong, they think that a single trade union organization is not enough. At one time Czyrek told me that the Marxists, too, think that a single trade union should not be regarded as dogma and that two or three trade unions should exist. Well, let them exist. Young people reject old schemes and old cadres and want new things, something they can call their own. They should have it. Let new organizations emerge from grassroots, gradually...." But will this not create chaos? Marek Goliszewski, the interviewer asks. "Is that really so dangerous? The subliminal maturing of tensions, because one is unable to make one's own choices and to act in line with one's own aspirations and not in line with instructions from above is much more dangerous. If these possibilities continue to be denied, the consequences of such frustrated energies will be far worse for the economy, and not only for it."

Daily Views Reagan-Onyszkiewicz Meeting

AU1909151488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Sep 88 p 7

[Zenon Lang commentary: "Mr O. Is Seeking Support"]

[Text] Citizen Janusz Onyszkiewicz of the PPR has been accorded a great honor. U.S. President Ronald Reagan invited him to the White House and gave him 20 minutes of his time.

According to Radio "Free Europe," Onyszkiewicz discussed the Polish situation with Reagan, but "did not approach the President with any particular problems." So why did he say in his statement after the meeting that the President had promised him "he would compel the PPR authorities" to conduct dialogue with representatives of society? At his press conference on Tuesday, Jerzy Urban said that the Americans had neither confirmed nor denied Onyszkiewicz's statement. So perhaps one can consider it to be Onyszkiewicz's personal impression of his meeting with Reagan, because the U.S. authorities have said many times that they will not interfere in Polish domestic affairs.

According to the "Voice of America," Onyszkiewicz, speaking about Eastern Europe (and therefore about Poland as well), told journalists in Washington that "the United States cannot ignore this problem, of course."

Therefore, Eastern Europe and Poland are a problem for him, and here he sees the need for U.S. interference. He even said that the U.S. sanctions against Poland had been "helpful," but said nothing about their heavy impact on Polish society, which is feeling the effects to this day.

As I have said, one could consider his remarks to be a personal impression from his trip around the world—if it were not part of widescale organized political-propaganda blackmail designed to create an atmosphere of foreign pressure at a time of national dialogue in Poland.

Asking for foreign support does not carry good marks in Poland.

Roundtable Participant on U.S. 'Disinformation'

LD1909231688 Warsaw PAP in English 2100 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 19—In an interview for the main TV news programme today, Professor Artur Bodnar, political scientist, participant in the preparatory talks for the "roundtable," spoke about the hitherto course of the talks.

Commenting on certain reports carried by THE WASHINGTON POST and the Voice of America on the subject of alleged commitments of the representatives of the authorities concernig the future of the labour movement, Bodnar said that the communique from Friday's meeting was extensive enough and its contents were very important. The atmosphere of the talks was an atmosphere of goodwill for reaching an agreement on the agenda of the future "roundtable" which would group both the respresentatives of the authorities, political parties, the OPZZ, episcopate as well as representatives of social movements including representatives of the former "Solidarnosc".

This is why I regard Friday's meeting and communique as a political success of both sides which, attempting to better understand the country's situation and the needs of our nation today and tomorrow, are trying to find such a plane in which the wishes and views of Poles could find a sensible realizational shape which would take into consideration that what is most important in Poland today and what she wants to strive to.

During the talks wide reference was made to the problems of the labour movement, the base of which is made up of the facts in the shape of an extensive interview given by Lech Walesa for "KONFRONTACJA" in which loose concepts of possible solutions, which better conform to the interests of employees and workers, were outlined. Reference was also made to Alfred Miodowicz's statement who also, as the leader of the OPZZ, is looking for more effective formulae for the labour movement. However, it was hard to expect that the participants of the meeting would adopt decisons which in fact can only be an effect of the work of the "roundtable," Bodnar said.

As far as reports carried by THE WASHINGTON POST are concerned, it is true that some of the participants in the meeting try not only to comment but also divulge the course of loose discussions which took place, Bodnar said. I personally regard this as the breaking of a gentlemen's agreement which was made that the debate would not be publicized. Secondly, the information contained in THE WASHINGTON POST was simply disinformative because—as I have already said—nothing could have been decided during these debates. If this were possible, then it would not be necessary to convene a "roundtable".

We must realize that both the interests and the views, also on Poland, of the trade union movement are so varied, that at the present moment conditions do not exist and that the ways of solving these problems which are so important for Poles were not discussed in depth. This is why I would not attach much importance to what THE WASHINGTON POST' claims since we must be prepared for other meanders of press information, press disinformation, since not only Poles but also the world is devoting much attention to what is happening in Poland today, Bodnar said.

Dissidents Oppose Plan To Destroy Villages

AU2009085288 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 20 Sep 88 p 2

[Peter Martos report: "For the First Time Coalition of Dissidents Against Ceausescu's Plans"]

[Text] Vienna/Bucharest—In Transylvania a coalition of Romanian dissidents and representatives of the minorities is starting to form against the Ceausescu regime's plans to destroy their villages. On the weekend [17-18 September] a protest drawn up by dissident Doina Cornea, which criticizes the demoralizing effect of the mammoth project from the viewpoint of pious Romanians, was signed by three bilingual couples and by the mother of Hungarian poet Geza Szocs, who had been forced into exile.

Among the 12 people who first signed the protest—all of them Romanians—are worker Julius Filip, imprisoned in Aiud political prison from 1982-87 on charges of "propaganda against the socialist system"; Teohar Mihadas, a prominent poet, who received several state awards; three university teachers; a jurist; and three other workers. Even more noticeable are the seven "solidarity signatures," because the couples demonstrate the ethnic groups' cohesion against Ceausescu's plans. Best known abroad is Peter Ivan Chelu, an ethnic German Romanian married to a Hungarian.

Hydropower Construction Progress on Jiu River

AU2009110888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1036 GMT 20 Sep 88

["Jiu River in the Romanian Power Industry"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 20/9/1988—The works started on the first hydropower stations on Jiu River which are part of a vast programme of capitalizing the power potential of this Romanian river.

The first three stations are at Vadeni, Turceni—next to the largest Romanian thermopower station—and Tirgu Jiu.

The station at Turceni is in an advanced stage of construction, works being done on assembling the hydroaggregates, and it will have an installed power of about 10 MW. The storage lakes of the stations in Tirgu Jiu and Vadeni are of 700 hectares, and the hydropower stations are designed for an installed power of 22 MW.

In the following years several hydropower units are to be built on the entire course of Jiu River which will enrich the national power system with hundreds of megawatts/hour.

Progress in Modernization of Constanta Port

AU2009102788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0908 GMT 20 Sep 88

["Works on Constanta-Sud Port Enter a New Stage"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 20/9/1988—Romania's largest sea port—Constanta—which runs about 65 percent of the country's foreign trade volume sees a continuous development and modernization. Starting 1964, the old port has expanded towards south, the works going on until 1990. Nowadays, the new port's surface is of 742 hectares, with an annual traffic of over 52 million tonnes of various goods. Besides auto and railway transport, the port benefits from the Danube-Black Sea Canal through which it is linked to almost entire central Europe. In the end the embanked part of Constanta-Sud Port will be of 2,000 hectares that is equal to the size of the world largest port of nowadays—Rotterdam. This port area is enclosed by three up-to-20-m-deep dams with a total length of 10,000 m which will make possible the landing of 165,000-DWT or even larger ships. The works on two of these dams—the seawall and the southern one—are almost finished. Now works are underway on the north-south seawall—a real barrier for the waves—which runs almost parallel with the shore. At this dam the experts make use of high-efficiency technologies, many of them used for the first time. They use 20-ton breakwaters built in the plants right on the shore, while berths are made of 5,000-ton reinforced concrete giant lockers cast on a port platform and then launched into water to be welded at a depth of 20 m. At the conclusion of this port's works, Constanta will become one of the largest European ports ranking among the first ten large ports in the world.

Ceausescu Sends National Day Message to Ortega

AU1909154288 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Sep 88 p 6

[Telegram from President Nicolae Ceausescu to Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega Saavedra on "The National Day of the Republic of Nicaragua"]

[Text] To Comrade Daniel Ortega Saavedra, president of the Republic of Nicaragua and coordinator of the Executive Commission of the National Directorate of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, Managua

On the 167th anniversary of the national day of the Republic of Nicaragua, on behalf of the Romanian people, the RCP, and on my own behalf, I convey to you warm greetings and wishes for peace and prosperity to the friendly Nicaraguan people.

I express my belief that the relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Nicaragua will continue to develop for the benefit of our countries and peoples.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

Serbian Leaders On Special Security Unit

AU1909174688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Sep 88 p 3

[Dusan Drazis, Velisa Krsmanovic report: "Someone Looks After the 'Unit' Too"]

[Text] The harshest condemnation so far of the political-security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo was expressed at the joint session of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium—"terror prevails there."

It was stated that the discussion on the latest task of the special unit of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs had lasted for about 100 days! At the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee, specific help was announced for the security organs in Kosovo to wipe out the ever present and increasingly wicked enemy through additional involvement of a unit of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs. The SFRY Presidency also made a decision on the involvement of the special unit in new tasks.

Everyone agreed with this decision, but someone nevertheless prevented the members of the unit of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs from being stationed in communes and local communities in order to be near the people and to wipe out the separatists and Albanian nationalists with the aid of their vast knowledge, involvement, and direct action. Therefore, the decisions of the highest organ of Yugoslavia are being slowly implemented.

There were many speeches on this subject at the joint session of the Serbian Presidency and Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium. Everyone was agreed that security experts should be nearer the people, in local communities to carry out preventative action and hinder the unrestrained activity of the separatists. It seems that the implementation of the decisions of the Yugoslav Presidency is being slowed down for formalistic (are they just formalistic?) reasons.

In the meantime, it has been stated that "the people's revolt has not only been provoked by attacks by Albanian nationalists, but also by the fact that even the legal organs of power often do not give Serbs and Montenegrins essential and prompt protection...." Last night, as the first aspect of the essential, specific, and immediate measures, the Serbian Presidency and the Serbian LC Presidium again unanimously adopted the stand:

"The Presidency of the SR of Serbia and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium totally support the decision of the Yugoslav Presidency on changing the way the combined unit of the militia of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs is organized and used and at the same time, they express bitterness because of hesitation in implementing this decision of the Presidency. Members of the unit should be stationed in communes and local communities and their direct action should ensure the personal safety of citizens and the security of their property, particularly of Serbs and Montenegrins. This decision should be implemented urgently."

There followed another stand of the Serbian Presidency and Presidium: That the "republic should also set up additional forces which would be put at the disposal of the federal unit as extra help."

Clearly and Unclearly [subhead]

Near its end, the discussion on the setting up of additional forces of the internal affairs service of the SR of Serbia which will be at the disposal of the federal unit as extra help, went like this:

Remzi Koljgeci: "I have understood that we are discussing the proposals which were put forward by Comrade Gracanin."

Slobodan Milosevic, the chairman: "Of course we are talking about that first of all."

Koljgeci: "I would like to ask: What does it mean that additional forces are set up for these purposes in the republic and put at the disposal of the federal unit as extra help? I say to you honestly that I do not understand that. I understand the decision by which the members of the unit will be stationed in communes and that is clear. But as far as the second part is concerned, will it be part of the composition of the unit or not?"

Milosevic: "We want to exclude any possibility of there not being sufficient security forces to guarantee the full security of all inhabitants in Kosovo. Therefore, as many forces as necessary in the SR of Serbia will be formed at their own expense and made available. During the events in Little Rock in America about 2 decades ago, the police accompanied all children to school while the situation was at its worst. Today, no one accompanies the children to school there. We can no longer allow peasants to stand guard with pitchforks and hatchets. This state has the obligation to protect each of its citizens. Therefore, we will set up additional forces and make them available to the necessary extent. However, that means that it cannot happen that in the case of security not being guaranteed, these forces will not be used. If security can be guaranteed without these forces, then there is no obligation to use them.

Koljgeci: "That implies a joint analysis of the responsible organs."

Milosevic: "A joint technical-organizational analysis. However, in itself any violence gives a reason to provide the means and forces to prevent it."

Koljgeci: "It also says here, among other things, that it is necessary to establish the political responsibility of the Kosovo leadership. If responsibility should be apportioned, it is certain that it will fall on certain Kosovo organs, the Provincial Committee, and its Presidency. However, some of the responsibility must go to republican organs."

Milosevic: "I would add, to the republics as well, in line with the functions that they carry out."

Koljgeci: "As far as the first comment that you addressed is concerned, I think that there should be a joint analysis of the responsible organs in the province and the republics concerning this, and a joint appraisal."

Radmilo Bogdanovic, republican secretary of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs: "We have also reached agreement on the basis of an analysis that more than 113 leaders from the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs from the republic are to go there. We will go to every station where there is a mixed population and where there is excessive behavior. We are in fact transforming the unit not in these numbers, but in the necessary numbers about which we have already reached an agreement and other republics should be contributing the agreed number of members. That is, therefore, the agreement and no more analysis is necessary. We must go down there as soon as possible because we will have no one to protect if we do an analysis for 1 more month."

Koljgeci: "It seems that we have not understood each other. As far as the SFRY Presidency's decision is concerned, that is quite all right, but I understood from the Comrade President that we have additional forces along with the militia unit."

Milosevic: "Yes, so that we have available forces in the necessary numbers, as the internal affairs secretary has just said."

"This Is Something Else" [subhead]

Koljgeci: "If they came to such an agreement...."

Bogdanovic: "The unit will no longer exist as a unit. It is being transformed and its members should go down where life is being played out."

Koljgeci: "We know that but this is something else that I do not understand."

Rados Smiljkovic: "Well, why are things not clear? Excuse me, Comrade Koljgeci, but if this continues with you explaining in this way, then we will never wage a struggle against the counterrevolution in Kosovo."

Koljgeci: "I am not explaining but only asking."

Smiljkovic: "It has been proposed very precisely: to increase the number to the necessary extent. You want the same number as the number that was established by the federation. However, what emerges from what President Milosevic explained is that if fewer are needed than specified by the federation, then there will be fewer. In essence, there will be as many people as necessary to ensure the freedom and rights of citizens, to achieve the aim that has been set."

Dusko Ilic: "The appraisal that we do not have enough people there is no longer valid. Everyone is available from the whole of Yugoslavia and from the republic, so there you are."

Milosevic: "Have we made ourselves clear about this, Comrade Koljgeci?"

Kacusa Jasari: "Is this within the framework of more help to the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs or will this be at the disposal of the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs?"

Milosevic: "Within the framework of the federal forces and in the context of the same function. There is an entire agenda for this and this is worked on jointly by the federal, republican, and provincial secretaries."

Gracanin: "Through the federal organs."

Koljgeci: "I only asked what I asked in order to explain it to myself. One should not now draw similar conclusions in the way Comra Smiljkovic has done. I think that I have the right to ask both as a member of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia and as president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo."

Milosevic: "Have we cleared everything up, Remzi?"

Koljgeci: "We have and we have not."

There were no more questions and this point on the agenda was concluded.

Slovene Letter to Kosovo Meetings Organizers

AU1709171888 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 88 p 4

[M. A. report: "They Want a Meeting in Ljubljana"]

[Text] Pristina, 7 Sep—A letter of support, signed by 97 citizens of Nova Gorica, Slovenia, today arrived at the address of the so-called Committee for Organizing Meetings of Serbs and Montenegrins outside Kosovo. It is said in the letter that "the committee's initiative that a meeting of solidarity with Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo should be held in Ljubljana is supported."

The letter was sent to Mico Sparavalo, president, and Miroslav Solevic, member of the committee's Presidium, and its brief and clear contents are followed by the signatures of 97 citizens of Nova Gorica. We have learned that over 400 citizens of Slovenia have addressed the committee individually to date. They also ask that a meeting be held in Ljubljana.

Kosovo LC Committee Meets on Situation
LD1909233888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Pristina, 19 Sep (TANJUG)—The increasingly frequent personal attacks on Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, attacks on their integrity and property, and the distribution of hostile pamphlets and other excesses clearly show that Albanian nationalism and separatism continue to act intensively, and that the political activity of organs, organizations and other subjects is insufficient. In many environments a certain drop in ideopolitical and overall social activities is present, as well as opportunism, passivity and waiting.

This was one of the basic statements made at today's enlarged session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium which discussed the implementation of LC stances in the realization of the policy of national equality. Although the subject matter was precisely defined, the majority of speakers in the discussion spoke more widely about the overall current situation in Kosovo.

Member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium Musa Juniku, in his introductory speech, without disputing efforts to stabilize the situation, noted that there was insufficient political action to mobilize the working people and citizens, nations and nationalities, and state organs to eradicate more resolutely and energetically firstly Albanian nationalism and separatism, and also other forms of nationalism.

Opportunism, passivity, and formalism, in Juniku's opinion, are evident in actions to halt the process of emigration by Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

In his assessment, intranational relations in this province are burdened among other things by the increasingly frequent gatherings on the basis of national division in which, he said, besides realistic demands and problems, unacceptable slogans are also put forward. At these gatherings, noted Juniku, a certain number of nationalists and destructive elements also take part who put forward their demands and slogans publicly and without any consequences. In addition, Juniku said, the public activity of the committee for preparing visits by Serbs and Montenegrins to gatherings outside Kosovo, which gain support from a number of official organs, strains the existing situation even further. This is not in keeping with the conclusions of the 9th and 16th sessions of the LCY Central Committee, said Juniku, and called for a more effective resolution of the problems faced by members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities. [passage omitted]

Jonuz Jonuzi spoke about the activity of Albanian nationalists in the Dragas municipality and pointed to the phenomenon of increased demands by Muslims to change their surnames by adding the suffix "ic". [passage omitted]

Taking part in the discussion, LCY Central Committee Presidium Executive Secretary Marko Lolic, stressed that the discussion on intranational relations and the realisation of the policy of national equality represents the question above all others. Noting the deeply disturbed intranational relations in Kosovo, Marko Lolic warned that, if things did not change for the better, the consequences could be even more serious and dangerous, which Kosovo and Yugoslav communists cannot and will not allow. [passage omitted]

Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium Executive Secretary Vladimir Stambuk assessed that in the Serbian LC, a successful struggle was being waged against Serbian nationalism. He said that the initiative of the so-called Committee, of the Serbian Writers' Association for the Critical Reexamination of Tito's Work represents an attempt to bring into question all that has been done in Yugoslavia in its socialist self-managing development. In his opinion, KNJIZEVNE NOVINE had become a center for the gathering of anticommunists and a number of Serbian nationalists. In his opinion, the gatherings which had taken place of Serbs and Montenegrins had not been nationalist in character, and he did not agree with the theory that an anti-Albanian mood was growing in Serbia.

Member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium Ratomir Vico stressed that the main task in Kosovo was to stop violence, terror, and pressure on the Serbs, Montenegrins, and the non-Albanian population. [passage omitted]

Work, effort, and results in neutralizing and eradicating nationalist indoctrination in Kosovo have been accompanied by indecisiveness and slowness in getting rid of cadres who were the inspirers and protectors of that process. Vico said: Today too there are people such as this in very prominent places, including the organs of power. Ineffectiveness in political activity and too much work conducted in forums and on paper has enabled violence constantly to be perpetuated, and the potential in the province has been insufficient to halt it. Said Vico: In the Kosovo provincial leadership with the encouragement of very influential people outside Kosovo and in Vojvodina, there is a striving, which continues, for absolute independence in conducting political actions, as well as in the work of the organs for internal affairs, the

judiciary and the administration. The phrase single-nationality gatherings is in circulation, yet the assessment on its damaging nature has been maintained up to today. But it is clear, said Vico, that the only thing of a single-nationality is the counterrevolution in Kosovo. Violence and pressures on a national basis naturally lead to resistance by the threatened nations, since violence has no class basis and this is why workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia protest together. However, these people are not protesting against Albanians, but rather against Albanian nationalism, indecisiveness, hesitation, and irresponsibility in the leadership. Despite the interpretations which have been coming from certain people in the leadership in the last few days, to the effect that they are duty-bound to oppose public protests, the provincial leadership, in Vico's opinion, must end its hesitation in relation to these public mass protest gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins, it must end the practice of leaving things unsaid and making contradictory assessments. We must call on communist Albanians to join these protests, as did Husamedin Azemi. Vico also pointed to the unacceptable allegations in Kosovo that the changes to the Serbian constitution would threaten the position of autonomy of the province, that land would be taken from the Albanians, as well as their language rights, culture, and similar things. People must be brought to account for such statements, said Vico. [passage omitted]

President of the Presidency of the SAP of Kosovo, Remzi Koljgeci, said that we all see the problems in Kosovo, but we cannot set about resolving them. For this reason, he said, we too must mutually censure ourselves for what has not been done. Since the adoption of a political platform on Kosovo in 1981 we have been saying the same things, which Koljgeci noted represents a concern only for the consequences, and not for removing the causes of the situation.

Koljgeci considers that the leaders have brought about a situation where, for example, the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo opt for what is proposed by the Serbian leadership and the Albanian nationality for what the Province of Kosovo proposes.

We must ask ourselves what is taking place with the Serbian and Montenegrin people in Kosovo and why they have fallen prey to fear, apathy and hopelessness. Noted Koljgeci: While we are speaking of fear, we should also consider the phenomenon of the purchase of property outside the country by members of the Albanian nationality. Who is putting forward and spreading rumours about a possible civil war in Kosovo?

In the opinion of Koljgeci, the list of names which is cited at the protest gatherings has been composed by a part of the opposition forces, and it all smells of nationalism. [passage omitted]

Azem Vlasi sought the more intensive political involvement of all Yugoslavia in solving Kosovo's problems. Hence he proposed that at the country level a working group of about 30 people be formed, composed of representatives of all the republics and provinces, which would visit Kosovo at least once a month and help resolve the problems there. They would not be a supervisory organ, but would take an active part in the actions of subjective forces. If we have justifiably done this in the security and judicial organs, why not also do it in the political sphere, Vlasi wondered. Speaking about the forthcoming constitutional debate in Kosovo, he said that in this province no fear is being created by what is proposed in the amendments approved by the Serbian Assembly or the provinces. Says Vlasi: Something else is creating fear and this is the public attitude which is at variance with the principled orientations of the LCY. In the Serbian LC they should disassociate themselves from such demonstrations, as we in Kosovo must oppose the creation of irrational fear of the forthcoming constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia.

Kolj Siroka, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, observed first of all that those forces that want to place obstacles in the way of our action mobilize and organize themselves faster in Kosovo. Says Siroka: These forces have their antiplatform on our platform and this is the same platform on which they operated in 1981. These forces want to destroy Yugoslavia, to impose on us some alien constitution. They want Albanians to quarrel with Serbs, Montenegrins, and others.

Said Siroka: They have done and are doing everything to bring bloodshed. In other words, they want to achieve by force what they cannot achieve by persuasion. In his words: Unfortunately the enemies are uniting on their platforms, and now the Albanian nationalists are being supported from the opposite side. They too are seeking blood, arms, and the chopping off of certain heads. It is the same in essence as what the Albanian nationalists sought in 1981. Siroka said that we should pay attention to the gatherings of Albanians or of others, what they mean for us in this country, and where they are leading us.

Siroka continued by energetically rejecting the accusations which have lately been made against him. First he noted that Momcilo Trajkovic, executive secretary of the Pristina LC Municipal Committee, censured him in an unreasoned way by saying that he had invented the thesis that certain people are seeking agrarian reform in Kosovo. Asserted Siroka: What I said was heard at the protest meeting in Smederevo and in other places. It is also said of me that I am an emigrant from Albania. But anyone can check the fact that I was born in Prizren, where I also lived. I only crossed the border twice and that was as a prisoner. Neither is it true that in Kosovo there are 300,000 emigrants from Albania. He also rejected accusations about his careerism after the Brioni plenum.

Abdulah Hodza, member of the Presidency of the SAP of Kosovo, considers that this type of gathering by Serbs and Montenegrins is impermissable, and added that noone in the Kosovo leadership has assessed these meetings as nationalist.

Concluding the almost 9-hour long debate in which more than 20 contributors took part, Kacusa Jasari, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, stressed that it is necessary to mobilize all progressive forces, and each individual in every environment, toward ensuring a peaceful and tranquil life for everyone, above all for the Serbs and Montenegrins. She also sought a resolute struggle against not only Albanian, but also Serbian and Montenegrin and other nationalisms.

In our exacerbated intranational relations in Kosovo, accompanied by the aggressiveness of Albanian nationalism and ostensible concern of Serbian nationalists for the position of the Serbian and Montenegrin people, who are advocating and organizing rallies, the effective action of the authoritative organs and the strong organized front of socialist forces in each environment is more than necessary. The Serbian nationalsits at their rallies shout out different slogans, including calls to arms and open threats against individual leaders. The LC must oppose such slogans and unmask their essence. Kacusa Jasari believes that the LC must fight more resolutely against Albanian nationalism but also against those forces which in Kosovo take a negative approach to the methods of exerting pressure, especially in connection with the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia, and advocate and impose their will against LCY policy, which provides ample fodder for a section of the information media.

Bosnian Veterans Group Meets on Kosovo Situation

AU1909153588 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Sep 88 p 8

[Unattributed report: "What the Critics of the Meetings Forget"]

[Text] "The critics of the meetings forget what the situation in Kosovo is like. The situation is unbearable," said Ilija Materic at the expanded session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Veterans Federation Republican Conference Presidium. He added that "our internal affairs minister has kept a unit for 3 months which had nothing to do. They play cards while women are being raped.... But now things are happening."

It is sad, said Materic, to see a man wanting to protect himself with a pitchfork. Critics from the Council of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina ignore that as well. According to Materic, the situation is more than desperate, it is explosive. Anti-Serbian feeling is also developing in the criticism of the meetings. It can be heard even in Bosnia-Hercegovina, as he says, that "Milosevic should be stopped." But Milosevic is not alone, he added. That is one leadership....[sentence as published]

In Materic's appraisal, all this is a consequence of the situation in Kosovo. The people are the people, the Republic is the Republic. In the way that we have advocated that anti-Slovene feeling should not be created, anti-Serbian feeling cannot be created either, said Ilija Materic, among other things.

Kosovo Press Reports Serbian Protest Meetings

AU1909161888 [Editorial Report] Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian on 14 and 15 September carries five reports of protest gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins held in various parts of Kosovo on 13 and 14 September.

RILINDJA on 14 September carries on page 12 a 450-word report by H. Bunjaku and I. Musliu on a protest gathering in the village of Gornja Kufica, Gniljane Commune, on 13 September. The report states that the gathering was attended by 3,000 citizens, and was addressed by Slavko Mitic, president of the Local Community LC Action Conference. According to the report, Mitic "cited as the reasons for this gathering the threatened assault of six persons upon a local school pupil, the excess against the two pupils in Partes, and the slow solution of problems in the commune and Kosovo. The two aforementioned incidents, he said, are a further drop of poison in the open wound of the sorrows and disappointments of the Serbian and Montenegrin populace (the crowds shouted, 'They have not got long.')" The report also states that Mitic "blamed a series of communal, provincial, republican, and federal cadres for emigration, including Adem Meshina, Hasan Ymeri, Abdylaziz Veseli, Milaim Zeqiri, Stojan Tunjakovic, up to Shefqet Mustafa, Bajram Selimi, Ekrem Arifi, Kacusa Jasari, Azem Vlasi, Kurtes Salihu, Sinan Hasani, Kolj Siroka, and Draza Markovic, as well as Josip Vrhovec, Petar Matic, Bosko Krunic, Stojsic, Radosavljevic, Sogorov, and others, while he supported Slobodan Milosevic, Hysamedin Azemi, Ali Sukriu, and honest Albanians. This drew applause from the crowds." The crowd is reported as shouting, "We will shoot Fadilj Hodza."

RILINDJA on 15 September carries on page 6 a 250-word "R.R., D.M."-attributed report on a Serbian protest meeting in Ranilug, Kosovska Kamenica Commune, on 14 September, attended by "more than 10,000 local Serbian and Montenegrin inhabitants, who gathered, they said, to protest the intolerable situation in Kosovo." The report states that, "as at other meetings, the most frequently and most loudly sung songs were about S. Milosevic, but there were also Chetnik songs: "We will kill, we will cut up those who are not with us," and "Who says, who spreads the lie, that Serbia is small?" According to the report, "The gathering acclaimed the proposal that a future general rally of Serbs and Montenegrins should be held in Kosovo Polje, where the people's commitment to decisively quash the counterrevolution in Kosovo first began."

The same paper carries on page 9 three reports on protest meetings on 13 September.

A 450-word report by S. Popova describes a 6-hour gathering in the village of Gojbulja, Vucitrn Commune, addressed by Major General Nebojsa Tica, secretary to the Presidium of the Yugoslav People's Army LCY Committee. Tica is reported as saying that "Albanian nationalism is also reflected in the Yugoslav People's Army, through the indoctrination of soldiers of the Albanian nationality. There are cases where assaults and various diversionary activities are planned, although there are also honest Albanian soldiers, who, when they return to their families, commit themselves to stabilizing the Kosovo situation within the framework of organized socialist forces." The report states that "Almost every speech was followed by shouts of such slogans as 'We want freedom,' 'Down with the armchair-holders,' 'We want the army,' 'Slobodo—freedom,' 'Long live Slobodan Milosevic,' 'We want a joint militia unit,' 'We want guns,' 'Bring the Yugoslav People's Army back to Vuicitrn,' 'Kosovo and Vojvodina are Serbia,' etc. A school boycott was approved, and there were further shouts of 'Slobodo—freedom,' At there same time, there were demands for an extraordinary 14th LCY Congress."

A 250-word by S. Selimi describes a protest gathering in Leposavic, "attended by more than 10,000 citizens from Leposavic and other parts of the province, as well as nearby towns in Serbia." The report states that "After shouts of 'Kecman... Kecman...' and the rendition of a song dedicated to him, Bogdan Kecman mounted the platform. On his appearance, those present shouted slogans even more loudly, while Kecman spoke for no less than 40 minutes about the injustices that, according to him, the non-Albanian population in Kosovo suffers. No 'shiptar' [derogatory word for 'Albanian' in Serbo-Croatian] is a greater enemy than those among our own people, and there are thousands of them. Recently, the public has been incensed by the behavior of Dragoslav Markovic, who attacked the Serbian leadership and its policies in his letter."

A 500-word N. Sadiku, H. Mekaj report describes a protest gathering in Pec, "attended by about 1,000 people from Pec Commune, other parts of the province, and from outside Kosovo." According to the report, the "cause of the gathering" was an incident on 9 September, in which seven unidentified persons entered the yard of Djoko Senic, and asked his wife "to give them water or they would put her head under the tap." The report states that the gathering was addressed by Muharrem Gashi, chairman of Pec Communal SAWP Committee, "who said that this incident had been condemned, and that the responsible authorities are working to uncover the culprits." According to the report, "This was greeted with whistling. Slogans from the armoury familiar from other meetings were also heard at this gathering."

Attacks on Ethnic Albanians Reported

AU1909161688 [Editorial report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 5 September on page 3 carries two reports on attacks on ethnic Albanians in Montenegro and Serbia.

According to a 500-word report entitled "Busses From Kosovo Smashed," a group of drunken Montenegrin youths insulted and physically attacked the drivers and passengers of four busses with Kosovo number plates parked in front of a cafe between Mojkovac and Bijelo Polje, Montenegro. The drunken youths first attacked one of the drivers and then some passengers who tried to help him. They were soon overpowered and had to seek refuge in the busses where they thought they would be safe. But the drunken youths continued with their attack and "smashed busses with metal bars, crowbars, and stones." A dozen people were reported hurt. The Bijelo Polje Secretariat for Internal Affairs detained eight youths of Montenegrin nationality.

According to the second report, a 300-word TANJUG attributed report, a group of 12 youths of Albanian nationality told their communal trade union organization in Titova Mitrovica, Kosovo, that they left their job on a construction site in Belgrade because of fear that they would be beaten up by local youths. They claim that two of their colleagues have already been beaten up, one for no apparent reason except that he was an ethnic Albanian.

TANJUG on 'Enemy Propaganda' Pamphlets

LD1909213988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1954 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Pristina, Sept. 19 (TANJUG)—Increasingly frequent attacks by Albanian chauvinists and separatists on Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, the distribution of pamphlets with enemy propaganda and many other excesses show that the situation in Serbia's province has not improved, the party leadership of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo assessed today.

In the province, where over 80 per cent of the population are members of the Albanian nationality, counter-revolutionary unrests were staged in 1981 by Albanian chauvinists and separatists with the aim of creating an ethnically clean Republic of Kosovo which would be joined to neighbouring Albania. Since 1981 some 30,000 Serbs and Montengrins have migrated from Kosovo fleeing the chauvinist terrorism.

At a provincial committee session of the Kosovo League of Communists (LC) it was stressed that, despite certain political results, opportunist and passive attitude and formalism are in evidence in the political action in Kosovo and the work of state authorities.

Musa Janiku, provincial LC Presidency member, warned that an additional burden on inter-nationality relations in Kosovo are increasingly frequent rallies staged "on the basis of national division" at which, "apart from relistic demands and problems, unacceptable slogans are stressed, too". It was emphasized that protest rallies of Serbs and Montenegrins are being used by chauvinists for promoting anti-Albanian slogans.

Different opinions were voiced at the session in regard to whether these rallies were justified or not. According to some, a justified revolt of Serbs and Montengrins depirved of their rights is involved, while others consider that the rallies only serve to deepen the rift between the nations.

Marko Lolic, League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee executive secretary, who attended the provincial committee session, said that "Yugoslavia must be present in Kosovo in order not to become itself, a Kosovo".

At the session it was set out that the overly stressed politicization of constitutional amendments in Serbia also aggravates the political situation in the province and that the discussion concerning the amendments has to be calm and well argumented.

Ratomir Vico, Serbia LC Presidency Central Committee member, said that all those deluding the Albanian population with claims that through constitutional changes Serbia wants to deny the Albanians the right to use their mother tongue must be thwarted.

Zagreb Media on Pro-Soviet, Stalinist Slogans

LD1909230188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1807 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Zagreb, 19 September (TANJUG)—In connection with the events and slogans heard yesterday at the protest meeting in Niksic, the second daily news program on Zagreb radio and television this evening made the following comment:

At yesterday's protest meeting in Niksic, together with the slogan: "We want arms," there appeared another one" "We want the Russians."

Who is inviting the Russians, and why?

Yugoslav communists, the working class, the nations and nationalities of socialist Yugoslavia, do not need much explanation. It is clear that the cry "We want the Russians" is occurring like a ghost from the past. It is clear that it is coming from the rubbish heap of history, not only our own history, but that of the international workers' and communist movement. That is where it ended up as long ago as 1948, with Tito's resolute no—while Stalin was still alive. That was a no to Stalinism in Yugoslavia, because such a concept was never written on the flag of our revolution. Tito's no to Stalin and to the Cominform was the signal for self-management, for socialism with a human face, for new horizons in the mutual relations of socialist countries and prospects in international relations. Does it have to be demonstrated that this has been confirmed by widely known facts and the development of events—from the removal of Stalin from Lenin's mausoleum to the Belgrade and Moscow declarations, from the Prague spring to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, from Nagorno- Karabakh to glasnost and perestroyka.

Invoking the Russians as was done yesterday in Niksic can only be interpreted as invoking Stalinism.

For us, however, inviting the Russians or anyone else from outside the country is nothing other than betrayal. Anything that puts forth some other concept of Yugoslavia than the one we have created and fought for under Tito's leadership is a betrayal. And this is exactly what we are dealing with. The situation in Kosovo, the forced emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, is an open wound in our socialist Yugoslavia. It has lasted a long time and is not changing for the better, but is getting worse. For this reason the anger of working people and citizens throughout the country, and at the meeting in Niksic, is understandable and justified. In addition to this, the economic crisis, disunity in the LC leaderships, and inconsistency in complex situation in the country.

And while the majority of people in this country are worrying about how to get rid of this weight and break through the blockade to find a way out of the crisis, there are also those whose apparent aim is to break up and destroy socialist Yugoslavia. These are two mutually opposed courses which at the same time mean a sharp demarcation of positions, and not just at protest meetings. The slogans at the gatherings call for a separate analysis and commentaries. But what is the meaning, for example, of the cry "Kill Azem Vlasi; To the stake with Fadilj Hodza?" We do not need analyses here, but rather actions by a legal state, just as against every threat and act to endanger freedom. Instead of conclusions, we should ask the question: How is it possible that the cry of the people who have been deprived of their rights in Kosovo is being abused to such an extent without an immediate reaction occurring against this, although it is quite certain that at the gatherings the vast majority of people are oriented toward Tito's Yugoslavia, concludes the commentator of this evening's Zagreb television news.

Protesting Vares Workers March to Sarajevo

LD1909230288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1945 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 19 Sep (TANJUG)—Over 600 workers of the Vares iron and steel works have departed for the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This afternoon they set out from this mining town on foot for Sarajevo in order to protest the difficult situation in their collective.

During the 52 km journey they were offered buses, but many refused them.

Workers Return From Assembly

LD2009110188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0940 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—After talks lasting 4 hours in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly more than 1,000 workers of the Vares mine and iron- and steelworks, who last night came on foot to Sarajevo from Vares, returned this morning by bus to their town. Talks will be continued there with republican officials on the difficult material position of their work organization and the exceptionally small salaries of miners and iron- and steelworkers. It was agreed that specific measures should be adopted, as the workers are demanding, for the replacement of the leadership and a 100-percent increase in personal incomes for workers in direct production. [passage omitted]

Osijek Metal Workers End Strike for Pay Hikes

LD1909140388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic in Serbo-Croatian 1145 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Summary] Osijek, 19 Sep (TANJUG)—The workers of the Standard metal processing work organization in Osijek decided to stop their strike and resume work at about 1100 today. During their talks with the representatives of the sociopolitical structures in the municipality they were told that the continuation of the strike would result in big business losses and also in the loss of some business deals with foreign partners. However, the workers persist in their basic demand that the intervention law limiting personal income be changed.

Rijeka Municipal Workers Refuse To Remove Waste

LD1909185788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1453 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Summary] Rijeka, 19 Sep (TANJUG)—For the last 3 days Rijeka municipal workers have refused to collect household waste in protest at low personal incomes, work conditions and the management. The strike will continue indefinitely as no solution was found to the problems at an extraordinary meeting today.

Serbian Presidency on Effects of Disasters

LD1909141988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1051 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Sep (TANJUG)—At its session today the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia stated that this year's catastrophic natural disasters—the floods in southern Serbia and the prolonged drought—will have exceptionally adverse effects on the overall economic and social trends in the republic.

Damage caused by the floods is estimated at about 810 billion dinars or 7.5 percent of the republic's social product. As a result of the drought, the annual yield for some crops will fall by 30 to 60 percent. This, according to the Serbian Presidency, will directly affect the food processing industry, planned exports, and the standard of living.

Loncar Report on Cost of Nonaligned Summit

AU1909152088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 88 p 1

[Z.M. report: "Honorably—With a List of Expenses"]

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Sep—The SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium today heard a report by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, on the work of the just ended nonaligned ministerial conference in Nicosia and the reasons cited by this meeting for choosing our country as host of the next nonaligned summit.

The discussion showed that this is a symbol of acknowledgement of our country (which the world has written about after quite a long time in the same way as about a country of international repute) and that holding the ninth summit should be supported. A large number of participants agreed with the words prepared by Joze Smole (he presented the demand of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference) that it would be good if when reasons are presented in the SFRY Assembly for organizing the conference, all details of the cost of the future meeting could also be presented, in order "to avoid disinformation," said Smole who otherwise heartily supported the proposal.

Among the reasons in favor, the expectation was expressed in several instances that this is also important for the greater unity of country and our internal consolidation. Among those who expressed their "happiness and satisfaction" but also had in mind primarily the enormous costs, was Nenad Bucin who inquired whether "we could avoid this worry." He also criticized the over-hasty expression of support by the Presidency as he believed that the grassroots had not been consulted.

After that Budimir Loncar presented details on the cost of the future ninth summit, saying that the accounts of experts (from Belgrade's Sava Center) showed that our expenses would amount to $5,635,000 with only 20 percent of that payable in foreign currency. Earnings from this meeting would be $4-5 million. Loncar did not know how much more we would have to spend for our numerous official cadres "armed with cars" and for other things.

Finally, Bozidar Colakovic presented the recommendation of the SAWPY Federal Conference, the SFRY Presidency, and the SFRY Assembly that Yugoslavia should accept the honored role of host to the ninth summit because it represents an acknowledgement of our country, its international role, and above all, the work of Josip Broz Tito as the inspirer of the Nonaligned Movement.

Romanian Deputy Defense Minister Arrives
LD1909172388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Sep (TANJUG)—Lieutenant General Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defense of the SR of Romania and secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Romanian Army arrived in Belgrade today for a visit to our armed forces. Immediately upon his arrival in Belgrade, the guest from neighboring Romania visited the committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], where he held talks with Vice Admiral Petar Simic, president of the Presidium of the committee of the LCY organization in the YPA.

In a cordial and friendly atmosphere, experiences were exchanged on running party organizations in the two countries' armies. Reference was also made to the need for further advancing the traditionally good relations and cooperation between the armed forces of the two friendly countries. At Dunav railway station in Belgrade, the Romanian delegation was met by Vice Admiral Petar Simic and Major Generals Teodor Troha and Nebojsa Tica, and also Dumitru Popa and Colonel Dumitru Manea, ambassador and military attache respectively of the SR of Romania in Yugoslavia.

Briefs

Serbian Council Member Dies

Belgrade, 19 Sep (TANJUG)—Lieutenant-Colonel-General Bogoljub Djordjevic, retired, died today in Belgrade at the age of 64. He was a member of the Council of the Republic of Serbia. [Summary] [*LD2009013488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1033 GMT 19 Sep 88*]